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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the *Indian Antiquary*.

## CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

By R. R. HALDER.

*(Continued from page 5.)*

After Chitor was taken by Akbar and placed in charge of Abdul Majid Âsaf Khân, Mahârâna Udayasimha with his few remaining nobles retired from the hills to his new capital Udaipur, the foundations of which had already been laid by him before Chitor was besieged by Akbar. He died at Gogundâ in 1572 A.D., and his valiant successor, the great Mahârâna Pratâpasimha (1572-97 A.D.), waged a long and strenuous warfare with Akbar, and succeeded in recovering most of the places in Mewâr, except Chitor, Mândalgarh and a few others.<sup>75</sup> Pratâpa's successor, Amarasimha (1597-1620 A.D.), was also involved in operations against Akbar and against Jahângîr, who maintained his father's foreign policy. The latter, in the first year of his reign, despatched a large force against Mewâr under the command of Prince Parvez and Âsaf Khân Ja'far Beg. While fighting was going on in Mewâr, Jahângîr fixed his headquarters at Ajmer and from there sent Prince Khurram to the front. Khurram conducted the campaign with extraordinary ability and pressed the Râjpûts very hard. After a strenuous struggle Mahârâna Amarasimha opened negotiations with Khurram in 1615 A.D. and submitted proposals for peace. The emperor accepted the terms offered and authorized Khurram to conclude a treaty. By it the Mahârâna agreed to recognize the Mughal supremacy and to send his son to the imperial court, being exempted from appearing at court himself, as well as from giving any territorial compensation or indemnity to the emperor. But one irksome condition of the treaty was that, though Chitor was to be restored to the Râna, it was never to be fortified or repaired.<sup>76</sup> This treaty, however, was not adhered to by Amarasimha's posterity. Râna Jagatsimha (1628-52 A.D.) and Mahârâna Râjasimha (1652-80 A.D.), set about repairing and rebuilding the fortress. So, during the reign of Râjasimha, on 22nd *Zî'l-qa'da* of the Hijrî year 1064 (1653-54 A.D.), the emperor Shâh Jahân despatched 'Allâmî (Sâdullâh Khân) with a large force for the purpose of demolishing the fort of Chitor. On arrival within 12 kos of Chitor he began plundering and devastating the country. On the 5th of *Zî'l-hijja* of the same year, having reached Chitor, he directed his workmen to pull down the fortifications. In the course of a fortnight they laid the towers and battlements in ruins and levelled the whole with the ground. The Mahârâna then sent off a letter of apology to the court, along with his eldest son and some of his principal men. A *farmân* was then issued by the emperor to 'Allâmî directing that, since the fort had been demolished and the Râna had sent his son to the imperial court, he (the Râna) should be forgiven and that 'Allâmî should return with his army to the royal presence.<sup>77</sup>

After this, Chitor enjoyed a respite for about 27 years, when it was visited by the emperor Aurangzeb in 1680 A.D., during the reign of Mahârâna Râjasimha, against whom he had declared war in 1679 A.D. Among the causes of this war,<sup>78</sup> the following may be mentioned:—

Mahârâna Râjasimha had offered protection to the infant son Ajit of the deceased Mahârâja Jasavantasimha of Jodhpur, whom Aurangzeb wanted to keep in his own custody. Besides, the Mahârâna had sent men into Mârwar to fight on the side of the Râthors against the emperor who had unjustly occupied Mârwar. On the other hand, the revival of the *jaziya* tax on the Hindus and an order addressed to the Mahârâna to enforce it in his territory, the policy of the emperor in destroying Hindu temples, as well as the annexation of Mârwar to the Mughal empire after the death of its ruler Jasavantasimha, had already exasperated the Mahârâna. The

<sup>75</sup> Smith's *Akbar*, p. 153 ; Burgess' *Chronology*, p. 53.

<sup>76</sup> *History of Jahângîr* by Beni Prasad, pp. 223-242.

<sup>77</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, vol. VII, pp. 103-4.  
<sup>78</sup> J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, pp. 382-83. The causes mentioned in *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 236-238, are interesting though not reliable.

marriage<sup>79</sup> in s. 1717 (1660 A.D.) of the Mahârânâ with Chârumatî, daughter of Râthor Rûpasimha of Kishangarh, already betrothed to the emperor, was a further cause of this outbreak of war.

On 30th November 1679, Aurangzeb left Ajmer for Udaipur. The Mahârânâ retired with his subjects to the hills. The pass of Deobârî was occupied by the emperor on 4th January 1680. The capital, Udaipur, being found evacuated, was occupied by the emperor. Chitor had already been occupied by the Mughals, and 63 temples were destroyed when the emperor visited it at the end of February 1680. The power of Mewâr being seemingly crushed, Aurangzeb returned to Ajmer on 22nd March 1680. But a strong force under Prince Akbar was kept in Mewâr, with Chitor and its vicinity as a base. Yet the Mughals did not succeed in suppressing the Râjpûts. Sometimes they suffered heavy reverses. For example, one of their divisions under Hasan 'Âlî Khân was lost among the hills. After strenuous fighting for sometime, the Râjpûts headed by Durgâdâsa Râthor seduced Prince Akbar to rebel against his father and seize the throne. The prince fell into the trap, and on 1st January 1681 crowned himself emperor. He then marched with a large army of Râjpûts and Mughals combined towards Ajmer to try conclusions with his father, and encamped in the night at Deorai, about three miles from the emperor's camp, fixing the following morning for the final struggle. But during the night Aurangzeb turned the tables on him by writing a deceitful letter,<sup>79a</sup> which caused the Râjpûts to desert Prince Akbar, who, thus abandoned, fled in the morning towards Mârwar, with a few Râjpût followers under Durgâdâsa Râthor. From Mârwar the prince fled to Mewâr and thence to the Deccan, finally reaching the Marâthâ Śambhâjî's court at Raigarh. This junction of Akbar with the Marâthâ king caused much alarm to the emperor at a time when fighting was already going on in northern India against the Râjpûts of Mârwar and Mewâr. Consequently, Aurangzeb had hastily to patch up peace with Mahârânâ Râjasimha's successor, Jayasimha (1680-98 A.D.), in June 1681, and soon after he proceeded to the Deccan in person. By this peace, the Mughals withdrew from Chitor and other towns in Mewâr excepting Mândal, Pur and Badnor, which were ceded to the Mughal by the Mahârânâ in lieu of the *jaziya* demanded from his kingdom.<sup>80</sup>

After Aurangzeb's death his successor, Bahâdur Shâh, threatened Mewâr with attack, but the danger was wisely averted by Mahârânâ Amarasimha II (1698-1710 A.D.) by sending a letter of congratulation and some presents through his brother Bakhtsimha.<sup>81</sup>

The last attack on Chitor was made by the Marâthâs during the time of Rânâ Bhîmasimha (1778-1828 A.D.). For a long time before this, a feud had been going on between the Śaktâvats (descendants of Śaktâ, the brother of Mahârânâ Pratâp I.) and the Chûndâvats (descendants of Chûndâ, brother of Mahârânâ Mokala) as to who should remain in the van of the army, a privilege that was greatly esteemed. Later on, this feud developed into a question of personal ambition to govern the country. About the time when Bhîmasimha came to the throne the Śaktâvats were becoming prominent and powerful owing to their numbers. Some years previously the Chûndâvats had called in Zâlîmsimha, the regent of Kotâh, to assist them in the organization of the State. Zâlîmsimha, however, spent his time in self-aggrandizement, and he found in the Chûndâvats the chief obstacle to his designs. He, therefore, sided with the Śaktâvats and secured help from the Marâthâ Sindhia under Ambâjî, to assist him in taking Chitor, into which the Chûndâvats were forced to throw themselves. The latter,

<sup>79</sup> Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 440-41.

ज्ञते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे सप्तदशे ततः ।

गत्वा कृष्णगढे दिव्यो महत्या सेनया युतः ॥

दिक्षीशार्थं राक्षिताया राजसिंहनरेश्वरः ।

राठोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्र्याः पाणिग्रहणं व्यधात् ॥

*Râjaprasasti Mahâkavya*, canto 8, Ślokas 29 and 30.

<sup>79a</sup> This letter was so contrived as to fall into the hands of the Râjpûts. In it Aurangzeb praised Akbar for having won over the Râjpûts as he had been instructed and now he should crown his service by bringing the Râjpûts into a position, where they would be under the fire of both armies.

<sup>80</sup> J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, pp. 384-422.

<sup>81</sup> W. Irvine, *The Later Moghuls*, vol. I, p. 45. The name of the Mahârânâ's brother was Takhtsimha.



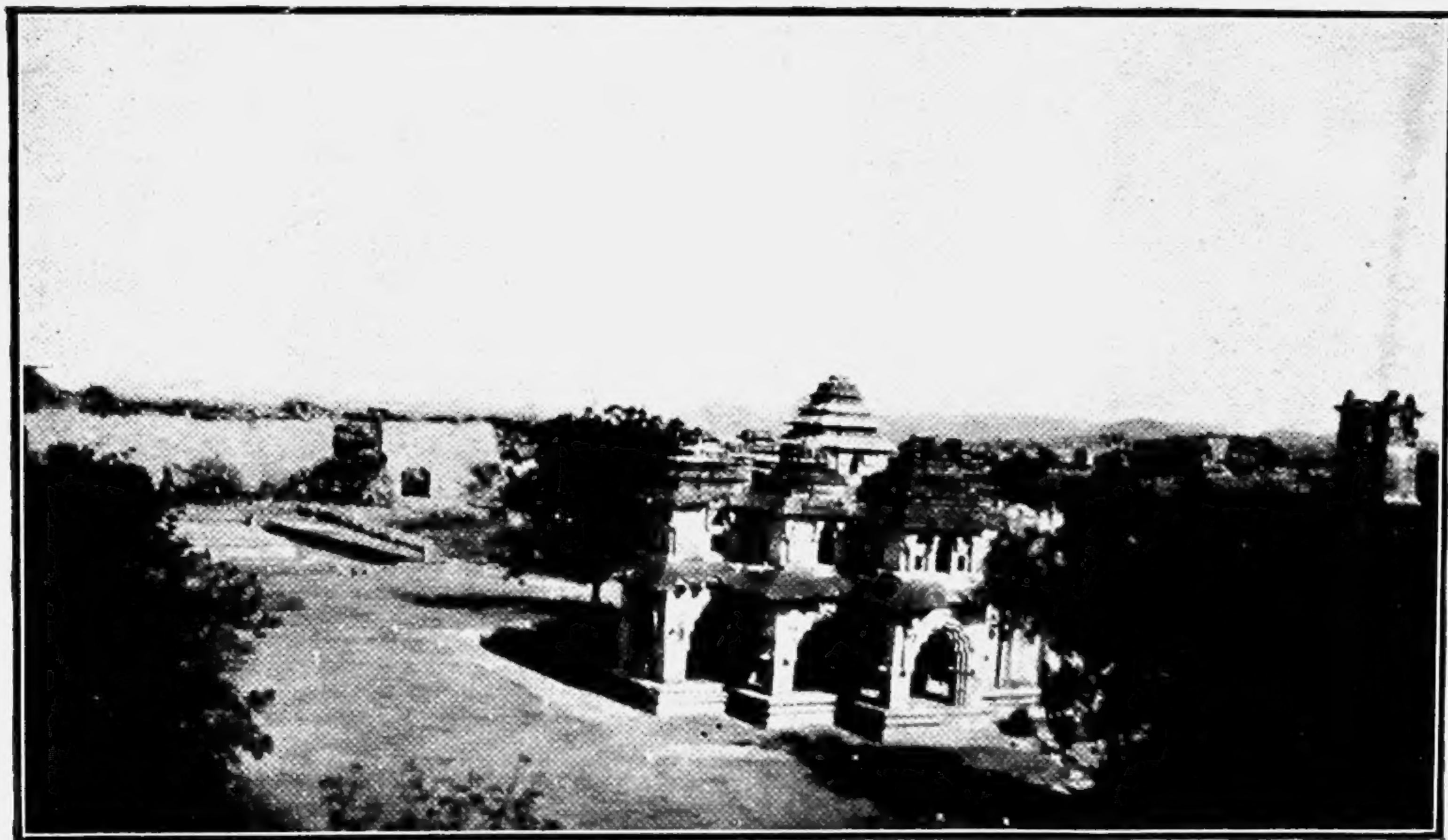


Fig. 3.

VIJAYANAGARA.—The so-called Lotus Mahal, probably the residence of Râma Râya :  
to the right a watch-tower : to the left an artificial lake.

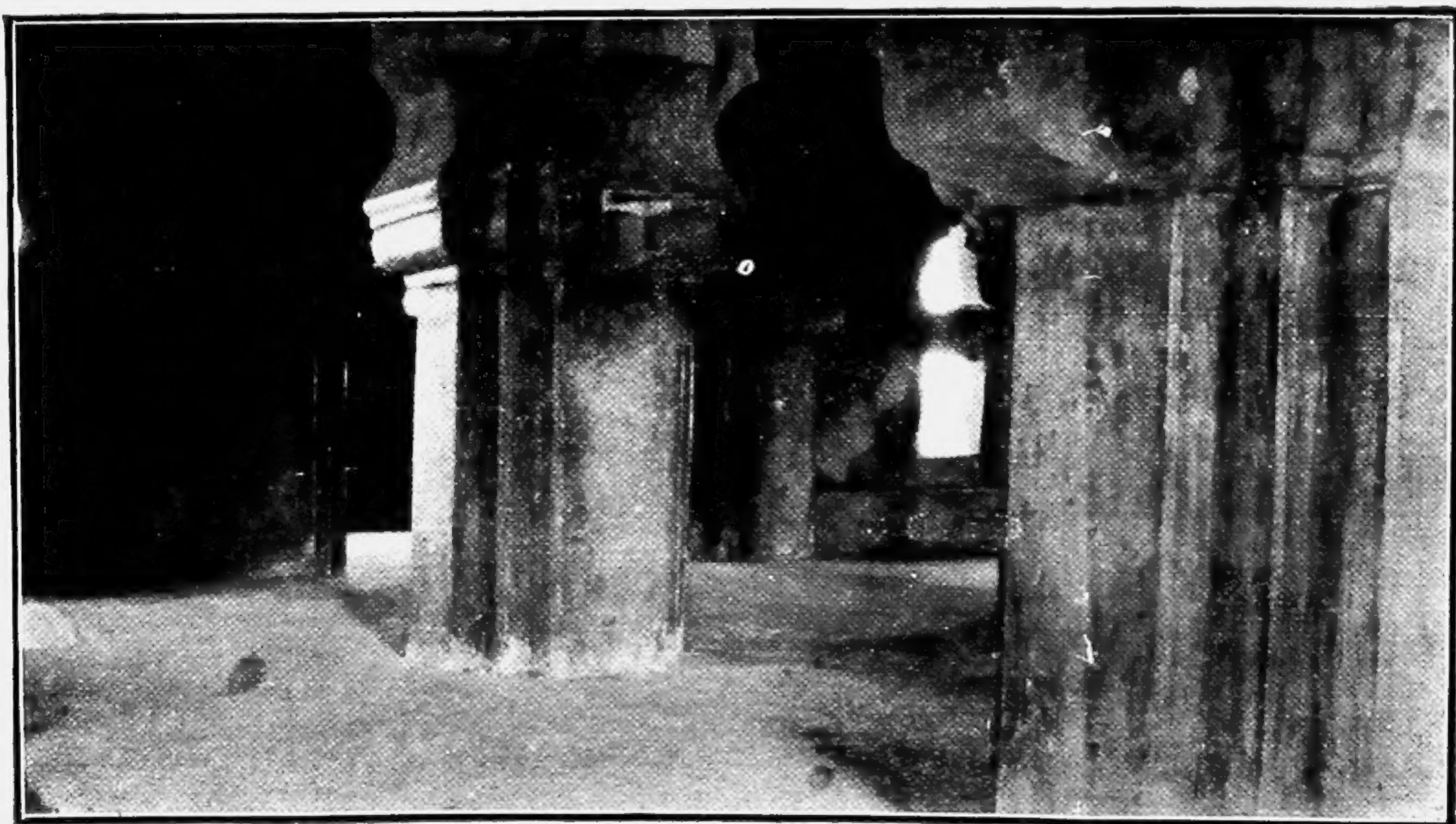


Fig. 4.

VIJAYANAGARA.—Interior of the so-called Lotus Mahal, probably Râma Râya's palace  
called *Ratna-kûṭa*.



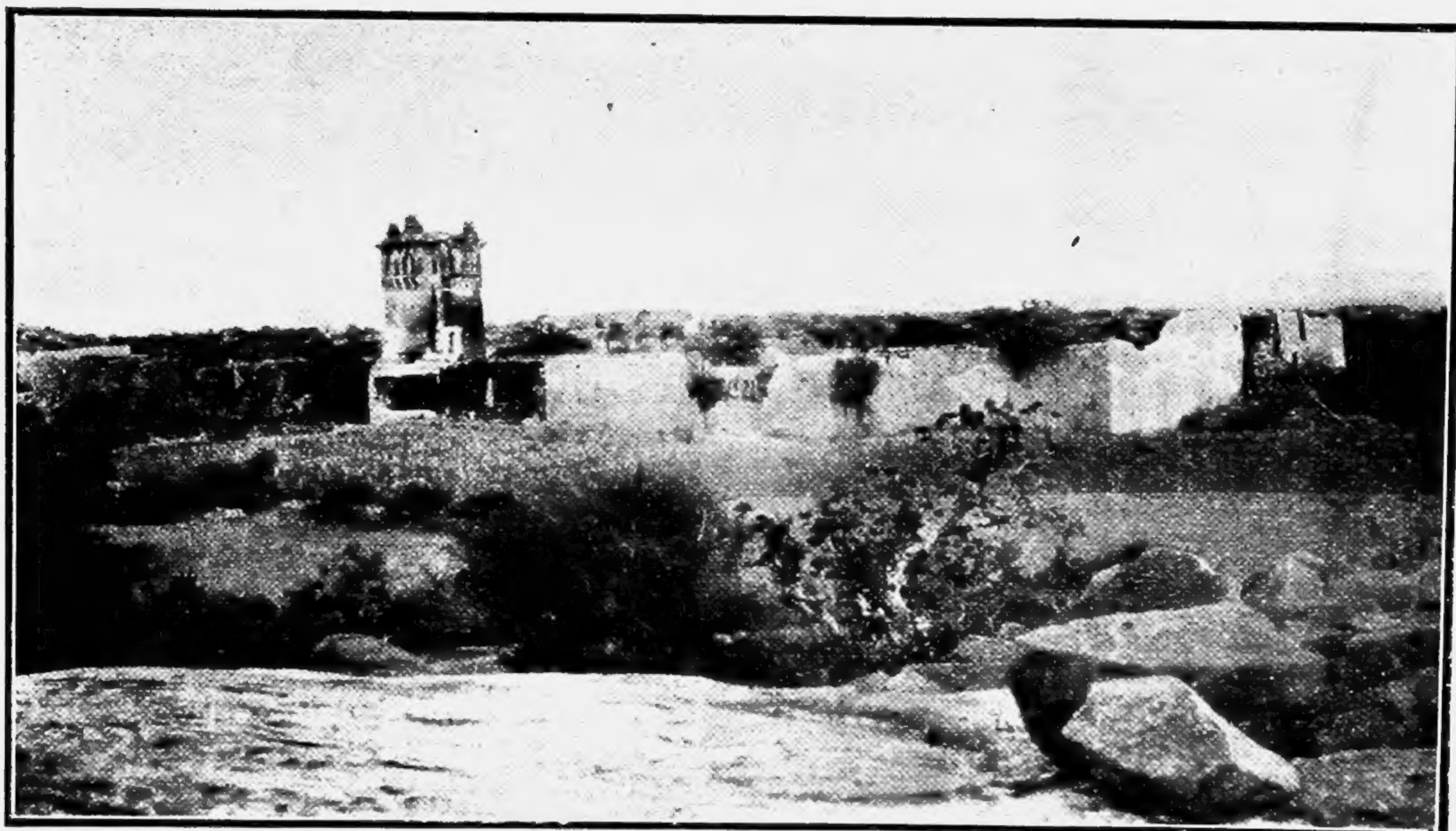


Fig. 1.

VIJAYANAGARA.—The so-called Zenana, probably the prison of Emperor Sadâsiva Râya :  
a watch-tower in one of the corners.

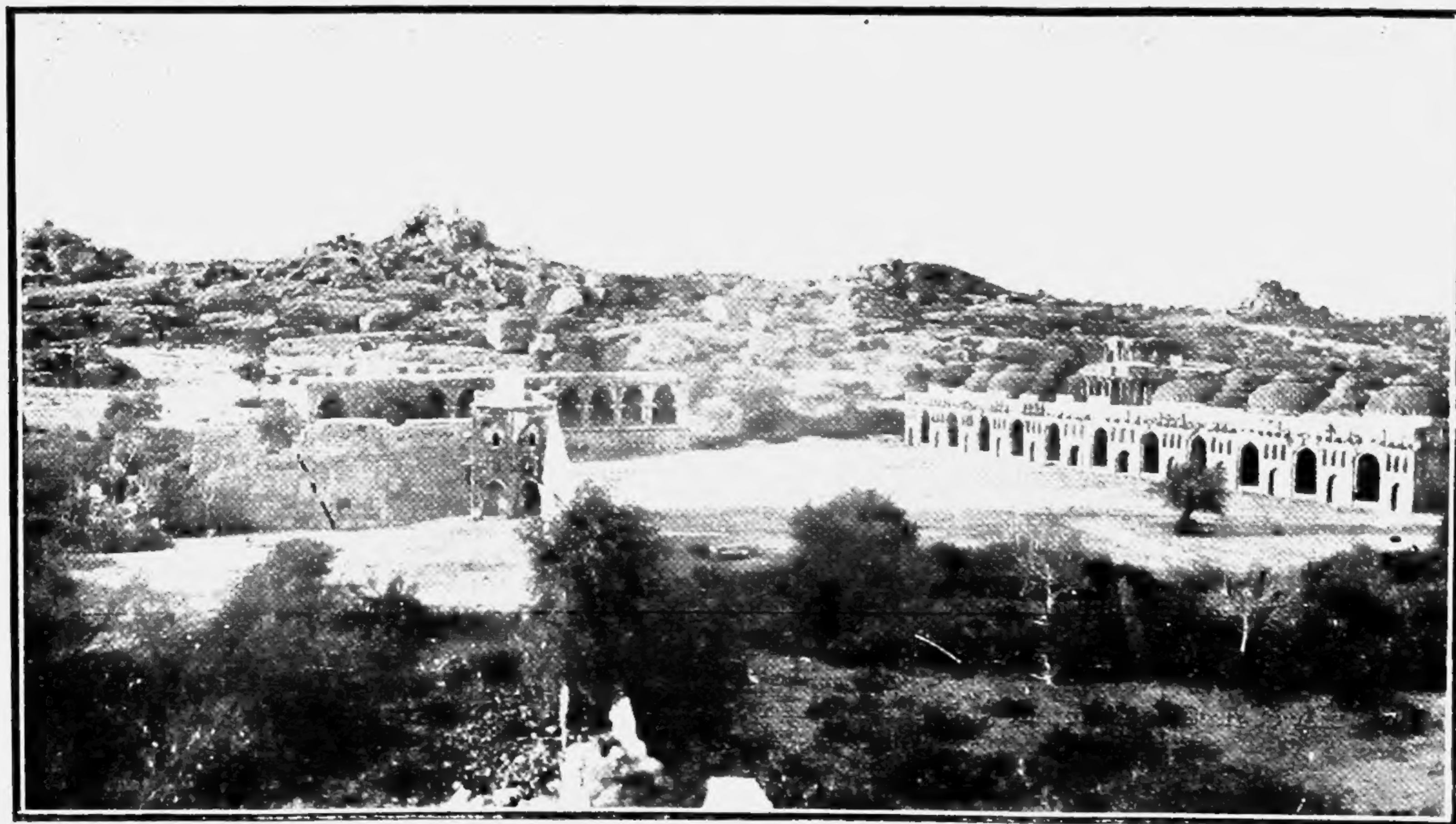


Fig. 2.

VIJAYANAGARA.—A corner of the so-called Zenana, showing one of the watch-towers, and  
the elephant stables.

however, intrigued with Ambâjî, were reconciled to the Rânâ and procured the dismissal of both Zalimsimha and the army of Sindhia on payment to the latter of 20 lakhs levied on both clans.<sup>82</sup>

It will thus be seen that Chitor suffered from four great, and several minor, attacks from time to time. The fortress has played an important part, not only in the history of Râjpûtânâ but also in the history of India. Though we have no definite historical evidence in respect of it prior to the eighth century of the Christian era, nevertheless, its use as a stronghold probably goes back to a remote past. From the close of the mediæval period it became the cynosure of the rulers of India: hence its grievous sufferings. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was practically reduced to a state of desolation, till the work of repairing it was begun by Mahârânâ Sajjansimha and continued by the deceased Mahârânâ.

In fine, those that had once raised their swords against this noble fortress have perished and their descendants have disappeared in the mist of obscurity, but Chitorgarh, though worn by vicissitude and stricken in years, proud to be still in the possession of its own lord, still rears its stately head above the plain, its honour untarnished and its fame imperishable.

### THE PRISON OF EMPEROR SADÂSIVA RÂYA.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

IN the first volume of my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I described at length the three stages by which the Prime Minister of Emperor Sadâsiva, the well-known Râma Râya, finally usurped the imperial authority. These three different phases of his usurpation are substantiated by foreign travellers and chroniclers, and confirmed by inscriptions and coins.<sup>1</sup>

He first posed as standing on the same level with, and practically enjoying the same authority as, the Emperor Sadâsiva. Then he proceeded to imprison the sovereign, whom he showed to his subjects once a year only. Finally even this ceremony was suppressed, while rumours were cunningly spread throughout the empire that the Emperor Sadâsiva had died. After this the enthronement of Râma Râya as Emperor of Vijayanagara came in the natural course of events.

While narrating the second of these stages, I wrote in the above-mentioned book as follows: "Couto [a Portuguese Chronicler who gives the most important details about Sadâsiva's imprisonment] does not say where this tower [or prison] was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadâsiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof; because even supposing that he was imprisoned at Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe that he was still at Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think that he remained in his capital....."<sup>2</sup>

Indeed Emperor Sadâsiva was shown once every year to his subjects, and this ceremony would naturally take place in the capital itself.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, all the contemporary sources that speak of the battle of Rakṣasatangadi (formerly called Talikota) state that Tirumala, Râma Râya's brother, after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch the Emperor Sadâsiva, who was "kept prisoner" there, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Now where was this prison of the Emperor Sadâsiva situated? This question was always on my lips when I visited the ruins in 1926. But the great havoc caused by four centuries in the buildings of the old capital, and the boards placed without much historical accuracy by the Archæological Department, mislead the researchers so that I could not trace this building. But in my last visit to the ancient capital in the month of April 1929, I made a new search, taking as a guide the Portuguese chronicler Couto.

This writer is the only one who, to some extent, describes Sadâsiva's prison. He says that it was a strongly fortified tower with iron doors, and surrounded by sentries; nevertheless his treatment while there was such as befitted a king.<sup>4</sup> Now the Portuguese phrase,

<sup>82</sup> Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 518.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 28-39.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar Frederick, in Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Couto, *Decadas*, VI, p. 383.

*huma torre fortissima*, which was literally translated "a strongly fortified tower," according to the terminology common in those days among Portuguese and Spanish writers alike, simply means "a well-equipped fortress." Accordingly it naturally supposes high, strong walls encircling the premises, with several sentry boxes on the top of the walls—these sentries are also mentioned by Couto—and a palace inside to serve as the dwelling of the emperor; for, as the Portuguese writer expressly mentions, Sadâśiva was there treated as a king. Moreover the fact mentioned by Frederick, that the young emperor was shown to his subjects once a year while in prison, seems to suggest a high tower which would enable a great number of his subjects to see their unfortunate monarch. And since it was not the intention of Râma Râya to betray the fact that Sadâśiva was imprisoned, this place would have to be inside the royal enclosure. All this proves, moreover, that this so-called fortress would not be very extensive, but only sufficient for the king's palace and some gardens for his enjoyment.

After much examination I could not find any place agreeing with these details, except the so-called Zenana. Now it is evident that this enclosure would not be large enough to afford shelter and amusement to the hundreds of women that formed the harem of the emperors of Vijayanagara.<sup>5</sup> Hence most probably it is not the Zenana at all. Let us see what else it is likely to be.

The so-called Zenana is a quadrangular enclosure surrounded by very high walls, the construction of which is totally unlike that of the walls encircling the seven enclosures of Vijayanagara. This enclosure contains two main buildings and four secondary ones. Almost in the centre of these is the base of an edifice exactly like the bases of other buildings we come across within the royal enclosure. This building was apparently of the same style and belonged to the same period as the edifices of the royal enclosure. But the other five buildings, including that which we have classified as one of the main buildings of this enclosure, belong to an altogether different style of architecture. These five buildings are the Lotus Mahal or Council Hall; three sentry towers in the north-eastern, south-eastern and south-western corners, and a small oblong house attached to the northern wall, apparently destined for the servants.

The fact that these five buildings are in a different architectural style naturally forces us to compare it with the style of the other civil buildings of Vijayanagara. This new style has been called "Indo-Muslim style,"<sup>6</sup> and has been explained as due to Musulman influence at the Vijayanagara court. In the book above referred to I advanced the theory that these buildings were put up by the Deccani Sultâns during their six months' stay at Vijayanagara, after the battle of Rakśasatagaḍi.<sup>7</sup> Yet a more careful examination of these buildings has forced me to change my view. In the Lotus Mahal itself, at the point of the arches of the ground floor, one discovers the *kîrtimukha*, which is a purely Hindu feature; and what is still more decisive, inside the cupola of the same building there are several Hindu images placed in niches, that form part of the original design of the builder of that edifice. Moreover, there are three buildings in the Tamil country, built in the same style, which were not built by the Musulmans. These are the great and the small mahal at Chandragiri and the square tower in the inner enclosure of the Gingî fort.

Now the two mahals of Chandragiri were beyond doubt built by Venkaṭa II, who first became Viceroy of the Tamilakam there, and then established the capital of the empire in the same place. The Hindu-Muslim buildings of Vijayanagara were most likely built during the same period. They evidently disclose a marked Muslim influence in the capital of the Hindu empire. Such Muslim influence was evident during the regency of Râma Râya, when the capital itself gave shelter to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, then a fugitive prince of Golkonda<sup>8</sup>; and received with great honours 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh II himself, the Sultân of Bijâpur, who went to pay a visit to Râma Râya.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 247-248, 370, 382.

<sup>6</sup> Longhurst, *Ruins of Hampi*, p. 78 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

<sup>7</sup> Heras, *o.c.*, p. 227.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

During this period the buildings in the Zenana enclosure were undoubtedly put up, except one, the edifice on the central stone base. Accordingly, this style may properly be called the *Āravīḍu* style of South Indian architecture.

Now the precise period when the buildings were erected is not very difficult to determine. After the battle of Talikota, during the short stay of Tirumala Rāya at Vijayanagara, the new regent's sole thought was to prepare the empire for future wars with the Deccani Muslims, as his wish of buying horses from the Portuguese evidently shows. Moreover, the same fact, carefully recorded by Frederick, shows that Tirumala had not much money to spend uselessly on erecting new buildings in a deserted city, for he had not enough money even to pay the Portuguese merchants for the horses sold to him.<sup>10</sup> It is therefore evident that those buildings were built in the time of Rāma Rāya. His purpose in erecting such edifices was intimately connected with his ambitious project to usurp the throne. When he decided to imprison the young emperor, he did not intend to throw him into a dark dungeon, but to place him in one of the old palaces of the royal enclosure to serve as a residence befitting a king. He erected a wall round the plot—for, after all, that palace was to be a prison—but it was not necessary that this wall should be as thick and strong as the walls of the other enclosures of the city. This would explain the difference between the walls of the so-called Zenana and the other walls of the city. A prison, moreover, required guards, and on this account three watch towers were built in the corners (the fourth one being perhaps ruined). The small house attached to the northern wall was undoubtedly for the servants. The purpose of the Lotus Mahal is another proof of the cunning nature of that great politician.

The *Svaramelakalanidhi* informs us that Rāma Rāya constructed for himself a palace called *Ratna-kūṭa*, which was surrounded by gardens adorned with statues and tanks abounding with swans.<sup>11</sup> Now, we do not know of any other building in the so-called Hindu-Muslim style which could be the *Ratna-kūṭa*, the residence or palace of the great ruler. In all probability the so-called Lotus Mahal is the *Ratna-kūṭa*. It is surrounded by a pit or ditch, which could be filled up with water. Thus the building became like a small island in the centre of a small lake. Another small lake or tank is to be seen on the northern side of this mahal.

The smallness of this palace does not create any objection against this identification. For Rāma Rāya was not living there. It was a place for recreation and enjoyment. "Seated within this palace," again says the *Svaramelakalanidhi*, "he spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts."<sup>12</sup>

It was very convenient for Rāma Rāya's purposes to build this palace for enjoyment within the walls of the Emperor Sadāsiva's prison. It was necessary for the latter not to realize that he had wholly lost his freedom. Thus the regent could safely and steadily climb the steps to the throne. Had Sadāsiva realized his real state, he would perhaps have broken his chains, and the plans of Rāma Rāya would have suddenly failed. The fact that Sadāsiva's "treatment while there was such as befitted a king," as noted by Couto, proves the intention of the far-sighted regent. To build the *Ratna-kūṭa* within the walls of the emperor's prison was the wisest stroke of his ambitious policy. How could Sadāsiva imagine that he was in prison, when his regent, the real master of the whole empire, came to spend the hours of his recreation within the walls of his own garden?

The above reflexions will show how probable it is that the so-called Zenana was the prison of Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya; and though this theory does not reach certainty, it is nevertheless better founded than that which assumes the enclosure to be the harem of the emperors of Vijayanagara. It would therefore be prudent for the Archaeological Department to remove the board stating that the enclosure is the Zenana, and substitute another suggesting that the enclosure was probably the prison of Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya between 1550 and 1565.

<sup>10</sup> Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X, p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 190.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

## SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retired.)

(Continued from page 8.)

The identification of these two rivers is important from a geographical point of view, as illustrating the courses of the Panjâb rivers at a definite date. The first may be identified without any hesitation with the Sutlej, because in this case Sîdî 'Alî calls the river by the name by which the Sutlej is still known to the local people, the Ghâra, a name under which (in a variety of spellings) it appears in its lower course on nearly all old maps. We know also that the Sutlej had at a much earlier date abandoned its ancient Ghaggar-Hakrâ channel, joining the Trinâb near Ucch. But the question of the identity of the second river is a more difficult one. There is evidence to show that the Chenâb flowed to the east of Mûltân as late as 1245 A.D., and that by 1397 it had shifted its channel farther north and west, flowing to the west of that town.<sup>55</sup> We also know that up till the end of the fourteenth century at least the Râvî flowed to the east and south of Mûltân, but we do not know exactly as yet when it shifted its course to the north and west, to join the Chenâb to the north of Mûltân, as it does at present.<sup>56</sup> We also know that the Biâs until comparatively recent historical times flowed through the middle of the Mûltân district from east to west, joining the Chenâb, or rather the Trinâb, near Theh Kalân, some 20 miles south of Shujâbâd. To judge from what Abû'l-fazl writes in his *Âin-i-Akbarî*, it would seem to have been flowing in this channel in Akbar's time. If this be so, it would appear reasonable to conclude that it took that course in Sîdî 'Alî's time also, and that this was the second big river he had to cross between Ucch and Mûltân. A difficulty, however, arises in this connexion if we read Ibn Baṭṭū'a's account of his journey from Sind to Delhi (c. 1334). He tells us that, when on the way from Ucch to Mûltân at a distance of ten "miles" from the latter city, he crossed the river called *Khusrûâbâd*,<sup>57</sup> which was one of the big rivers and could only be crossed by boat. There the merchandise of travellers was examined in the strictest fashion and their baggage was ransacked. As he mentions only one river as having to be crossed between the two towns, the question arises, was it the Biâs or the Sutlej? If by "miles" he meant *farsangs* (as I suspect he did elsewhere), the distance from Mûltân would correspond with the known old channel of the Biâs. In any case the Sutlej must have been much farther from Mûltân; and possibly in Ibn Baṭṭū'a's day the Sutlej had not yet adopted the channel that joins the Trinâb to the north of Ucch, which it evidently had before Sîdî 'Alî crossed it. We may conclude, therefore, that the two rivers crossed by our author were the Sutlej and the Biâs.

In the middle of the month of *Ramāṣān* (on the 15th *Ramāṣān*, i.e., the 3rd August, according to Vambéry's translation) Sîdî 'Alî arrived in Mûltân. Here, he tells us, he visited the tombs of Bahâu'd-dîn Zakarîya and Ruknu'd-dîn; and thus we find further corroboration of the accuracy of his record. The shrines of Bahâu'd-dîn (c. 565 to 665 A.H.) and his grandson Ruknu'd-dîn are still centres of attraction at Mûltân for Muhammadan pilgrims and travellers. From Mûltân he moved on to a place which Vambéry transcribes as *Sadkere*, and Diez as *Sadkereh* (صد كره). There can be little doubt that this should read *Shorkoṭ*. Thence he went on to Lahore, where he arrived in the beginning of *Shawwâl*,<sup>58</sup> or, say, between the 19th and 25th August, when fighting was still going on in the northern

<sup>55</sup> *I.G.*, X, 190. Albîrûnî, however, says the Chenâb passed to the west of Mûltân, which seems to conflict with the views expressed by Major Raverty.

<sup>56</sup> From what Abû'l-fazl writes in his *Âin-i-Akbarî* it would appear to have shifted to its more north channel by his time, and we may perhaps presume that it had taken that course before Sîdî 'Alî's day.

<sup>57</sup> See Defrémery and Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, III, 117. The name *Khusrûâbâd* is a puzzle; I can find no place of this name in the region concerned. It may of course have been the name of a town or village on the bank of the river near a ferry, that has since disappeared. It is just possible that a mistake has occurred in the text, and that *Kahrûr* may have been intended, as this place lay by the side of an old channel of the Biâs.

<sup>58</sup> *Shawwâl* 962 A.H. corresponding with 19th August to 17th September 1555.

Panjâb between Humâyûn and the last of the Sûr dynasty claimants to the crown. Humâyûn had started from Kâbul in the previous November to regain his throne ; he had occupied Lahore in February ; he had won a decisive victory near Sirhind on the 22nd June over Sikandar Khân Sûr, the nephew of the great Sher Shâh ; and had established himself in Delhi in July, only a month before Sîdî 'Alî reached Lahore. In accordance with his usual practice, our author breaks off from the narrative of his itinerary to give a brief, but fairly accurate, summary of the political situation, which may be quoted here (as translated by Vambéry)<sup>59</sup> as a fair sample of his notes on local political affairs :—

" After the death of Selim Shah, a son of Shir Khan, the former sovereign of Hindustan, Iskender Khan had come to the throne. When the Padishah Humayun heard this, he immediately left Kabul and marched his army to India, took Lahore, and fought Iskender Khan near Sahrand. He won the battle and took 400 elephants, besides several cannon and 400 chariots. Iskender Khan escaped to the fortress of Mankut, and Humayun sent Shah Abul-Maali with a detachment of soldiers after him. Humayun himself proceeded to his residence at Delhi and despatched his officers to different places. The Osbeg, Iskender Khan, he sent to Agra, and others to Firuzshah, Senbel,<sup>60</sup> Bayana and Kar-witch.<sup>61</sup> War raged on all sides, and when I arrived at Lahore the Governor, Mirza Shah,<sup>62</sup> would not let me continue my journey until I had seen the Padishah (Humayun). After sending the latter word of my arrival, he received orders to send me forthwith to Delhi. Meanwhile a whole month had been wasted, but finally we were sent off with an escort."

Crossing "the river of Sultānpur,"<sup>63</sup> by which is here meant the Biās (in its old channel), and marching via Firūzshâh, Sîdî 'Alî reached Delhi in twenty days towards the end of *Zû'l-qā'da*,<sup>64</sup> that is to say about the middle of the month of October 1555. He tells us that out of respect for his monarch, the Sultān of Turkey, he was accorded a brilliant reception, the Khân-khânân<sup>65</sup> and other high officers with several thousand troops being deputed to meet him. The same evening the Khân-khânân gave a banquet for him and his party, and then he was granted an audience by the emperor. After being presented to Humâyûn, Sîdî 'Alî offered some gift, accompanied by a chronogram upon the conquest of India and two *ghazals*, "all of which pleased the Padishah greatly." But when he begged permission to proceed on his journey, Humâyûn refused to grant this, wishing to retain him, and offered him an assignment of revenue amounting (as would appear from the translations at least) to a crore of rupees ! Declining this, Sîdî 'Alî expressed his anxiety to continue his journey, but Humâyûn replied that he should stay at least for a year. The emperor even suggested that he might send an envoy to Constantinople, carrying an explanation from the admiral of his inability to return ; but Sîdî 'Alî wisely foresaw the light in which this would be regarded by his monarch. Ultimately Humâyûn consented to his leaving, provided he waited till the roads, then impracticable owing to the recent rains,<sup>66</sup> became passable, and meanwhile taught him how to calculate solar and lunar eclipses and instructed him in other astronomical matters. As we know from other sources that Humâyûn was interested in the heavenly bodies, this

<sup>59</sup> *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, p. 46.

<sup>60</sup> I.e., Sambhal, now in the Morâdâbâd district, U. P.

<sup>61</sup> Scil. Kanauj ; Diez writes Kenouidjeh.

<sup>62</sup> This appears to have been Mahmûd Sultān Mîrzâ, son of Ulugh Mîrzâ, to whom, according to Blochmann, Humâyûn gave the name of Shâh Mîrzâ.—*Âin-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 461-62.

<sup>63</sup> So called from the then important place, Sultānpur, which lay on the high road from the north-west frontier to Delhi, and past which the Biās flowed. Sultānpur is now in the Kapurtala State, between the Biās and the Sutlej, a few miles above their present junction. See also *Bâbur-nâma*, trans. Mrs. Beveridge, II, 465, from which it appears that the Sutlej then took a more southernly course.

<sup>64</sup> *Zû'l-qā'da* 962 A.H., corresponding with 17th September to 16th October 1555.

<sup>65</sup> The famous Bairâm Khân was the Khân-khânân at the time. He may have been at headquarters.

<sup>66</sup> The translations seem to be defective, as the rainy season was over, though the roads would still be in bad condition. Vambéry translates : "We are now close upon the three months of continuous (Birshegal)." In a note he gives the word used in his MS. as برشگال adding : "birshegal, probably a Hindustani word" ! The word used by Humâyûn, of course, was the Hindî *barsha-kāl* (Sansk. वर्षकाल) a term in general use, and employed by so early a writer as Albîrûnî.

story need not be regarded as fanciful. Sîdî 'Alî accepted the inevitable, and settled down to please the emperor. It was probably his remarkable aptitude for making up verses and his *savoir faire*, of which we have abundant evidence, that ingratiated him most at court, where he seems to have been in constant attendance. He tells us that one day he accompanied Humâyûn on horseback to visit the tombs of the celebrated Shaikhs, Quṭbu'd-dîn Pîr Dihlivî, Nizâmu'd-dîn and Farîd Shakarganj,<sup>67</sup> as well as that of Mîr Khusrâu, the poet,<sup>68</sup> and Mîr Hasan Dihlivî.<sup>69</sup> The inclusion of Farîd Shakarganj in this list seems to be due to some error on our author's part, as the shrine of Shakarganj is at Pâkpattan in the Montgomery district, and could not have been visited on the same day as the others. Nizâmu'd-dîn Auliya was the successor of Farîdu'd-dîn: and possibly their names were coupled together in Sîdî 'Alî's hearing.

Several anecdotes are told of conversations with Humâyûn and his courtiers and of poetical discussions, in which latter the emperor took special interest, commending Sîdî 'Alî's efforts in this respect. We can read between the lines that the admiral had no small opinion of his own verses. Among others with whom Sîdî 'Alî became acquainted at Delhi, he names the *âftâbchi*, Abdu'r-rahmân Beg, as "a courtier who also rejoiced in the confidence and affection of the monarch, and was his constant companion in private life." (Vambéry.) Could this possibly have been our old friend Jauhar, his *âftâbchi* and, later, his historian?

At last, with the aid of some of the court favourites, Sîdî 'Alî managed to secure permission to depart. Passports were prepared; a letter was written by Humâyûn to the Sultân of Turkey; all was ready for the start, when suddenly everything was thrown into confusion by Humâyûn's fatal accident. As the evidence of an impartial witness, present at Delhi at the time and in close touch with Humâyûn and his entourage, the description which Sîdî 'Alî gives of this accident and of the action taken to conceal the emperor's death till the heir-apparent could be communicated with, is of much importance. The late Mr. H. Beveridge had recognized this when translating the relevant passage in the *Akbarnâma*, and he accepted the record as confirming the correctness of the day of the week and month assigned for the event, viz., Friday, 24th Jan. 1556. Vambéry thus translates the passage<sup>70</sup> :—

"Humayun had given audience on Friday evening, when, upon leaving his castle of pleasure, the Muezzin announced the Ezan just as he was descending the staircase. It was his wont, wherever he heard the summons, to bow the knee in holy reverence. He did so now, but unfortunately fell down several steps, and received great injuries to his head and arm . . . . .

"Everything was confusion in the palace, but for two days they kept the matter secret. It was announced to the outer world that the sovereign was in good health, and alms were distributed amongst the poor. On the third day, however, that was on the Monday, he died of his wounds . . . . .

"His son Djelaleddin Ekber was at the time away on a journey to visit Shah Ebul Maali, accompanied by the Khanikhanan. He was immediately informed of the sad event. Meanwhile the Khans and Sultans were in the greatest consternation; they did not know how to act. I tried to encourage them and told them how at the death of Sultan Selim the situation was saved by the wisdom of Piri Pasha, who managed to prevent the news of his death from being noised abroad. I suggested that by taking similar measures, they might keep the sovereign's death a secret until the prince should return. This advise (*sic*) was followed. The divan (council of state) met as usual, the nobles were summoned, and a public announcement was made that the emperor intended to visit his country seat, and would go there on horseback. Soon after, however, it was announced that on account of the unfavourable weather, the trip had to be abandoned. On the next day a public audience was announced, but as the astrologers did not prophesy favourably for it, this also had to be given up. All this, however, somewhat alarmed the army, and on

<sup>67</sup> It will be noticed that Sîdî 'Alî gives first place to Quṭbu'd-dîn. This was Khwâja Quṭbu'd-dîn Bakhtiyâr Kâkî, whose tomb is at Mahraulî, not far from the Quṭb Minâr, and was once the most famous shrine at Delhi, but now ranks second to that of Nizâmu'd-dîn Auliya. See H. C. Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present*, p. 280.

<sup>68</sup> The tomb of the famous poet Mîr Khusrâu ("Tûṭî-i-shakar-maqâl") is near that of Nizâmu'd-dîn Auliya.

<sup>69</sup> I am not aware who Mîr Hasan Dihlivî was, but local Muhammadans would doubtless know.

<sup>70</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 55 f.

the Tuesday it was thought advisable to give them sight of their monarch. A man called Molla Bi,<sup>71</sup> who bore a striking resemblance to the late Emperor, only somewhat slighter of stature, was arrayed in the imperial robes and placed on a throne specially erected for the purpose in the large entrance hall. His face and eyes were veiled. The Chamberlain Khoshhal<sup>72</sup> Bey stood behind, and the first Secretary in front of him, while many officers and dignitaries as well as the people from the riverside, on seeing their sovereign made joyful obeisance to the sound of festive music. The physicians were handsomely rewarded and the recovery of the monarch was universally credited.

"I took leave of all the grandees, and with the news of the Emperor's recovery I reached Lahore about the middle of the month of Rebiul Evvel. This was on a Thursday. . . ."

According to the translation by Diez (which is probably the more correct), it was on the day following the mock audience, that is to say, on Wednesday, that Sidī 'Alī took leave of the grandees, and next day, Thursday, in the middle of *Rabi I*,<sup>73</sup> he started on his way to Lahore.

Travelling via Sonpat, Pānīpat, Karnāl, Thānesvar, Samāna, Sirhind, Macchiwāra and Bajwāra,<sup>74</sup> and crossing the "river of Sulṭānpur" by boat, he reached Lahore at the beginning of *Rabi II*, i.e., about the middle of February 1556. A day or two earlier Akbar had formally ascended the throne at Kalānaur (on the 2nd *Rabi II*,<sup>75</sup> corresponding with 14th February).

Mīrzā Shāh,<sup>76</sup> the governor of Lahore (who was there in the preceding August also) now refused to allow the travellers to proceed farther on the pretext that Akbar had issued orders that no one was to be allowed to go to Kābul or to Kandahār : so they had to turn back and go to Kalānaur, to obtain the young emperor's sanction. They came up with Akbar near the fortress of Mānkoṭ, where he had been watching the movements of Sikandar Khān. Akbar readily gave the required permission, as well as a guide and a lakh of rupees (perhaps an assignment on certain revenues, as seems likely from what Sidī 'Alī says later on), and told them to travel in the company of four Bēgs, whom he was sending with an escort to Kābul. Here Sidī 'Alī mentions that Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī, who had got into disgrace and had been placed under arrest,<sup>77</sup> was put in charge of these Bēgs and taken to Lahore, where he was cast into jail.

In the middle of *Rabi II* Sidī 'Alī and his companions quitted Lahore *en route* for Kābul, crossing the Rāwī, which he calls the river of Lahore, in boats. Another big river was then crossed on rafts (Vambéry says "of barrels and chairs" ! Diez says "of planks and water pots" : they were probably *gharnāīs*) as there were no boats at hand. This was doubtless the Chenāb. The river of Bharah ( ربار ) was next crossed in boats. This must, I think, be intended for the Jhelum, as Bharah seems clearly to represent the modern Bhera on the side of that river, an old and once important site lying on the main route usually followed in early times between Afghānistān and Hindūstān. Bābur, who crossed the Jhelum near Bhera<sup>78</sup> in 1519, writes in his *Memoirs* of the Bharah country and the Bharah people. He tells us that the Koh-i-Jūd (the Salt Range) marched with their country for 14 miles.

<sup>71</sup> Diez writes Menla Bikessi (Maula Bakhsh ?).

<sup>72</sup> Diez does not call him Chamberlain. Here again Vambéry has evidently mistranslated the text. Khushhal Beg was one of Humāyūn's body-guard, his bow-bender, as appears from an earlier passage in Diez. He was in Akbar's body-guard afterwards, but later on was executed for sedition by being trampled under foot by an elephant. See Elliot, *History of India*, V, 322.

<sup>73</sup> *Rabi I*, 963, corresponds with 14th January to 12th February 1556. The Thursday nearest the middle of *Rabi I* was the 17th, corresponding to the 30th January.

<sup>74</sup> Two miles SE. of Hoshiārpur; now a village, but once a very important place and chief town of the district. Vambéry can only suggest a place in Oudh (Bachhrāwān in the Rae Bareilly district !)

<sup>75</sup> *Rabi II*, 963 A.H., corresponding with 13th February to 12th March 1556.

<sup>76</sup> This Mīrzā Shāh, or Shāh Mīrzā, is also mentioned by Abū'l-fazl in his *Akbarnāma*—see trans. by Beveridge, *Bibl. Indica*, II, 30. See also above, note<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> See *Akbarnāma*, trans. Beveridge, II, 27-29, for the reasons leading up to this action.

<sup>78</sup> Mrs. Beveridge, in her *Bābur-nāma*, I, 379-387, transcribes the name as Bhīra, but Raverty (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 1131-32, note), writes Bharah, after comparing two Persian versions with the original Turkī.

There follows a passage in which the translations of Vambéry and Diez differ materially, ending with the statement that the *Khushâb* and *Nilâb* rivers were both crossed by boat. By the *Khushâb* can only be meant the *Jhelum*,<sup>79</sup> *Khushâb* being a town on its bank some 40 miles below *Bhera*: but why the passage of this river should be mentioned twice is not understood. By the *Nilâb* is meant the *Indus*.<sup>80</sup>

In the beginning of *Jumâda I*, or in the middle of March, 1556, *Sidî 'Alî* and his companions moved on westwards through the *Khaibar Pass* towards *Kâbul*: and here we must leave them to continue their extraordinary journey and win through even greater difficulties and dangers before they reached the *Bosphorus* more than a year later. Enough has been written perhaps to show the great interest that attaches to this early travel story, and how well it merits study and efficient editing from a reliable text, illustrated by full historical and geographical notes.

### SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from vol. *LIX*, page 187.)

#### 5. Rebirth.

"We were overtaken by one or two of our village friends who were on the way (p. 106) to the monastery, which lay in the direction of *Kampa Dzong*. . . . We learned that they were carrying a new flag to present to the monastery on behalf of a poor man, who was dying of pneumonia. He was hoping that the present might enable him to acquire enough merit to secure a longer span of life, or if fate was against him and he was destined for death, that he might have a felicitous rebirth, for it seemed he had led a somewhat gay and merry life and had dreamed that as a punishment he was to be reborn as a louse."

In *Shway Yoe* [Sir George Scott], *The Burman*, we read: "It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of *Mt. Myinmo* [*Meru*] across the wide *Thamoddaya* [*Samudra*] Sea—more hardly will it touch with its point, as it falls, another needle, standing point upwards in the great *Southern Island*—than will any given creature become a human being," at the next birth.

The doctrine of rebirth was introduced into Tibet with Buddhism and is typical of Hindu philosophy generally. It is a very early fundamental belief of Hinduism, including Buddhism and Jainism. The doctrines set up by the early Brahmanic Schools of Philosophy (see my *Word of Lalla the Prophetess*) "were based on the Aryan instinct of the godhead and were dominated by contact with the ideas of totemistic aborigines, believing man's spirit-soul to be a separate entity, able to leave the body at will and after death to live in other human bodies and even in animate things thought to be capable of harbouring a soul." The idea arose that there was a repetition of death and rebirth for ever as the fate of mankind, and "this led eventually to seeking after release from such a prospect. . . . The general argument ran thus: 'this world is an illusion: the one reality is the Absolute, unchanging, inert, unknowable.' The varying fortunes, characteristics and experiences of individual human beings were explained by transmigration and reincarnation of personal souls expiating the action of former lives, with a final release at last by reabsorption into the universal soul, of which they were held to be but emanations. So the merit of actionless, introspective, ascetic life, in this life, became the passport to release from rebirth. The necessity of a recurring rebirth before sufficient merit can be accumulated to obtain release led to the idea of cyclic destruction and recreation of the whole earth." At p. 29 of the same work we read: "The dread of rebirth in a humbler sphere than the present is the bugbear of a guilty conscience in all countries dominated by Hinduism."

<sup>79</sup> It will have been noticed how many of the rivers were called after places on their banks. Cf. also the case of the *Chenâb*, which was called the *Sodhara* or *Sûdhara* from a town of that name on its left bank.

<sup>80</sup> This name (*Nilâb*) seems originally to have been the name of a ferry across the *Indus*, some 15 miles below *Attock*, but it came to be applied to the river itself.

### 6. Incarnation.

"Not only is Svong-Tsang-gampo [the Constantine of Tibetan Buddhism] regarded (p. 299) as an incarnation of divinity (deification is the common lot of every great hero in Tibet), but his spirit is supposed to be reincarnate in every succeeding Dalai Lama."

In *The Word of Lalla* (50, 53 f.) the theory of reincarnation is explained thus: "It was propounded by the Vaishnava Hindus out of the theory of the transmigration of souls from body to body and from the Buddhist 'legends of the mythical predecessors of Buddha and the equally mythical *tirthakaras* (apostles) of the Jains,' from which they created the many incarnations or *avatāras* of Vishnu, viewed as the Supernatural Self. The Vaishnavas were followed by the Shaivas and all other Hindus, till incarnations of the Deity became a general Hindu belief."

### 7. Supernatural Powers.

"We saw (p. 90) a snow leopard prowling about. . . . It is extraordinary how these animals can walk over the snow without sinking into it. The natives explain this peculiarity by giving the snow leopards supernatural powers. . . . We had a curious bit of luck that morning (pp. 92, 93). Our friend the snow leopard had passed us in the night and seemed to be heading for the pass, for we could see his footprints in the snow. There seemed to be a striking regularity about his path, and it occurred to me that he might be travelling over the line of the road. Investigation proved that the idea was correct. By following his footsteps we saved ourselves a good deal of road seeking. It was amazing to me how the leopard knew the road, buried as it was beneath several feet of snow and, of course, level with the wide expanse on every side. I could only suppose that it was by means of a sense of smell effective through the deep snow, though why he should have kept the road with all its zigzags, when he could easily have made cross-cuts impossible for us, was a mystery which I did not attempt to solve. The servants looked upon the footprints as a very auspicious omen or even as a miraculous intervention on the part of the blessed Buddha or a Bodhisattva."

### 8. Miracles.

"The river (p. 220) itself [Brahmaputra] being no longer hidden in a gorge was exposed to the devastating rays of the sun, which had melted the ice covering, so that we could see water flowing in the middle, but so strong was the wind in the opposite direction that its blasts on the river made it seem as if the water was flowing backwards and uphill. In fact so strong was the illusion that the syce and Lhaten [a servant] thought it to be real and bowed down in worship of the supposed miracle."

### 9. Magical Powers.

#### (a) Lama's.

"The servants (p. 82) . . . after some persuasion consented to go forward though they tried to insist that I make a substantial money-offering to the Lachen Lama and solicit his indulgence to keep back the snow. All the natives of this part of the world firmly believe that a life of ascetic contemplation brings with it magical powers, including the ability to control the elements. The Lachen Lama is particularly famous all over Sikkim for his regulation of rain and snow. Even villages in the South dominated by other temples send petitions to him with huge gifts, asking that rain be stopped or made to fall as desired."

The question of magical power is discussed in *The Word of Lalla*, p. 23, thus: "The object of magical formulæ is to compel the unseen powers, that are held to govern man and his wants, to abstain or cease from doing him harm, or on the other hand to do him good. In this way they are a protection of mankind against evil or a method of benefiting him." The applicability of this observation to the above quoted story is obvious. As regards the probable origin of the belief, it is remarked in *The Word of Lalla*, p. 65, that "the Shaktio Buddhism that has long prevailed in Tibet largely consists of gross mysticism borrowed from the magic of aboriginal tribes."

As regards Burma, it is remarked in *E.R.E.*, III, 30-31, that the object of Burmese magic is to secure hallucination in respect of the five senses and to confer temporary invulnerability. This is achieved by potent mixtures. . . . . Certain specific kinds of magic have no doubt come from India—which accounts for the otherwise puzzling fact that Buddhist monks [of the Hinayana type] are themselves much addicted to it. That they have drawn on native Animistic sources to enlarge their knowledge is but natural. . . . . Articles subjected to magic are chiefly boats, stones and charms.”

More specifically Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 413, says: “Wizards and witches are very common in Burma. The thing runs in families, and on the Chindwin river in Upper Burma there is a village called Kalè Thaungthut—‘the small town at the top of the sand bank’—where the entire population is credited with power of this kind. They have ‘a king’ there.”

Again, *loc. cit.*, Shway Yoe says: “There are the *sôns*, who delight in nothing so much as killing people, afflicting them with epilepsy, fits and divers other ailments, and there are the *wêzâs*, who are good people and strive to overthrow the machinations of the *sôns* against the welfare of mankind, while themselves learned in all the knowledge of the mystic arts. *Wêzâ* (Sanskrit, *vidyâ*) simply means wisdom or knowledge, and the sorcery studied by both classes is the same.”

(b) *The Dalai Lama's.*

[In Pede Dzong the landlady, pp. 239, 240] “said she would like to see the foreign devil [*i.e.*, Dr. McGovern, then rumoured to be trying to get to Lhasa] and give him a good piece of her mind, but she was sure that so great was the vigilance of the officials and so powerful was the spiritual force of the Dalai Lama, the intruder would certainly be detected and sent back to his own village. I was interested in the latter statement as showing the implicit faith which the Tibetans have in the divinity and power of its suzerain. In spite of the many vicissitudes which have marked the reign of the previous holder of the office, most Tibetans really believe that the Dalai Lama is omnipotent and nearly all have faith in his omniscience. The fact that the present ruler was twice forced to flee the country at the peril of his life is glossed over and forgotten and sometimes explained away. Our hostess was firmly convinced that by means of his spiritual powers the Dalai Lama could have told at any moment where I was and what I was doing. The only class of Tibetan who are sceptical on these matters are the monks, particularly the Lhasa monks and those in immediate contact with the Court.”

10. Cures.

Toby became seriously ill (p. 47) “and there was nothing we could do except to feed him with cod-liver oil and malt and wait for the crisis. One afternoon, a couple of days later, while Toby was asleep, I got out some of my Tibetan books—all books in Tibet are of a religious character—and began chanting from them, as I thought it was the best way to continue with my Tibetan studies. This continued some two hours, and by a curious coincidence, when Toby awoke, we found the crisis was passed and that he was much better. By the natives the benefit of the cod-liver oil was forgotten and the ‘cure’ was attributed to my religious incantations, and I was put down as a ‘holy man,’ a reputation that was later on to stand me in good stead.”

11. Callousness.

“I thought (p. 272) at first that a bomb had been placed beneath my window [at Lhasa] but on looking forth I saw that by accident the whole firework stall had exploded, stunning every one in the vicinity. Four persons were killed and five more seriously injured. A large crowd gathered round the heap of victims. . . . . But no one seemed inclined to lend a helping hand, and every one was left to look after himself. This meant that the dead and seriously wounded were left to lie on the ground for really an extraordinary time until friends or relatives could learn of the mishap, and come and drag the bodies of the victims away. . . . . When the victims were eventually taken away they were carried back to their own houses and some monk—possibly, but not necessarily, a monk from the Medical College—was

invited to perform his ritual, either for the recovery of the patient, or if he were dead, for the safe passage of his soul into a favourable reincarnation."

"All the way (pp. 234, 235) we could see that the lake [Yamdro] was covered with a thick coat of ice, though with occasional seams indicating flow. Several times during the day we saw men walking across the frozen lake from the mainland to the peninsula or island in the middle. . . . On one occasion, late in the afternoon, we were the spectators of a tragedy. Two men, who were walking nearly in the centre, came to a point where there was a bad flaw in the ice. We could see they had to jump a seam. The ice on either side was obviously weak, for it crashed under them and they were precipitated into the freezing water below. They attempted to crawl out, but they could not find a block of ice capable of supporting their weight, and soon they were so numbed by the cold that they fell back helpless and sank beneath the water. We could see their heads appear once or twice and then they sank again and disappeared for ever. I was astonished at the phlegm with which my companions looked at a catastrophe happening before their eyes. We passed one of the caravans just at the time and its members paused for a few moments to look at the tragedy taking place a few hundred yards away, but they continued their amiable chatter and no one made any move to save the unfortunates."

The above stories might have been told of almost any place one might mention in Burma. They so exactly illustrate the Burmese attitude towards an accident. Edwardes, *Crime in India*, p. 37, writes: "In Burma, if one may judge from a case in the Maubin District, the vagaries of a man, who 'runs amok,' are regarded in much the same light as a cinema entertainment is by Western villagers. The culprit, in this case, after severely assaulting several persons with a *dah*, murdered a friend and his wife in very brutal fashion. A crowd of about seven hundred people watched the 'dance of death,' apparently unmoved and made no effort to seize the murderer. He would probably have accounted for several more victims, had not an inspector of police rushed up and shot him dead in his tracks."

Many years ago at Bassein I saw a man accidentally fall out of a rice boat in the middle of that very dangerous river, and though there were many boats on it with expert swimmers in them, all they did was to watch his struggles in an interested manner and say 'he will certainly drown.' In the end a young Englishman went out and saved him.

Edwardes, *op. cit.*, p. 49, also says: "The tendency of villagers to accept the attacks of dacoits as merely an uncomfortable feature of the daily routine is well illustrated by a case reported in 1921 in which the whole village turned out and calmly watched five dacoits armed with a home-made gun, which was fired by means of a lighted cheroot, help themselves to 10,000 rupees' worth of property and make a leisurely departure."

## II. DEITIES.

### 1. Maitreya.

"Another image [at Gyangtse] showing fine craftsmanship [p. 54] was that of the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya. . . . Maitreya, the Compassionate, is the next Buddha destined to be born in the world, and is adored by nearly every sort of [Mahayanist] Buddhist. He is frequently portrayed almost as a European. I have sometimes seen representatives of him with white skin and blue eyes, and in nearly all cases his image is sitting on a chair in European style as opposed to the Oriental cross-legged attitude assumed by other Tibetan deities."

### 2. Peden Llamö (Goddess).

"The floor above [in the Chokang at Lhasa] is largely devoted to the worship (p. 298) of the fierce female demon who acts as the dread guardian of Buddhism. . . . The lady represented here, Peden (or Paldan) Llamö, is the most terrible of the fairies. She has many forms, some mild, representing her as a gracious lady, the hearer of prayers: others which portray her as a goddess of black magic, of disease and death. In the upper room of the Chokang or Cathedral there are images, representing her in both aspects. . . . In her more horrible phase the colour is black, representing mystery and death. She is riding

on a fawn-coloured mule, but she is clad in the skins of dead men and is eating brains from a human skull. Offerings of *chang* or beer—a substitute for food—are made to her in other human skulls. While as the goddess of battle, she is surrounded by all sorts of weapons. . . . Considering the terrible and blood-thirsty nature of the lady, it is curious and amusing to find that the Tibetans believed she was recently incarnate in the world as the late Queen Victoria."

Peden Llamo most probably represents a primitive Tibetan goddess, from whom arose, according to Hirananda Shastri, *Origin and Cult of Tara* (*Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 20) the Mahâyâna Buddhist Shaktic Târâ in her twenty-one forms, represented in one or two varieties—pacific and terrible. The Cult of Târâ dates back to the fifth century A.D., on the Tibetan borderland, or perhaps in Indian Tibet, and spread downwards into India, right down to the very South, in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Another view of the Tibetan Târâ has been expressed thus. "She is a principal goddess, who has twenty-one recognised forms in five colours—white, green, yellow, blue and red—and appears in two principal forms—gracious and terrible. In her terrible form she is represented as destroying a human being (like the Indian Durgâ). In her gracious form she was recently held by many Tibetans to be incarnated in Queen Victoria. The Tibetan view of Tara probably arose out of an indigenous goddess Paldan (or Peden) Llamo, who also appears in both forms and whose colour, in terrible form is black, representing mystery and death."

It is possible, however, that she represents the Hindu goddess Durgâ introduced into Tibet with Shaktic Buddhism. Shaktism was "the cult of female energy in life (Shakti), an extension of that primeval recognition of the mystery of the reproduction of life, which led to the use of the Shaiva emblem of the phallus (*linga*) as the representation of the god-head. So that the phallus emblem became both male and female (*linga* and *yoni*). . . . Except as to their cult of Kali or Durgâ, Devi, Chandi, Kumari and other subsidiary names, as the female form of Shiva, with bloody sacrifices and much gross superstition borrowed from the magic of aboriginal tribes, the Shaktis were in all other respects essentially Shaivas." Eventually they permeated all Buddhism, and the cult "in Tibet became the form in which Buddhism has chiefly survived, causing it there to revert practically to the primitive Animism of the people with much degradation infused into it." (*The Word of Lalla*, p. 65.)

"The idea of the male and female god is visible as far as one can go back into the belief of the Aryans and has been consistently preserved in all branches of their descendants. It is visible also in all primitive religions and in all Animistic beliefs that have been studied. The concept of the god, his wife, his sons, his daughters and his messengers may be taken to be therefore a natural product of primitive human thought, which is necessarily anthropomorphic. . . . In Vedic times and later, the goddess had no special qualifications separating her from the gods, and attributes peculiar to goddesses do not appear until the rise, still in early times, of the cult of Durgâ the chaste virgin huntress, the Diana of the Vindhya mountains of Central India, the lover of wine, flesh and bloody sacrifice. . . . She is clearly a Central Indian aboriginal goddess brought into Hinduism in connection with the Krishna cult. . . . i.e., with Vaishnava Hinduism. In the next phase of her cult the Shaivas have captured her, and she has ceased to be regarded as a virgin, being identified with Umâ of the Himâlayas, the wife of Shiva. She is next found in the *Purânas* as Chandi, with a daily worship and an autumn festival, still the Durgâ Pûjâ so well-known in Calcutta, the home of Kali, another name for her, or for an ancient goddess identified with her. And at the same time arose a sect worshipping her as Devi (*The Goddess*), identified with Brahman, the Absolute, the One Reality, and so above all divinities. Here then in the blood-and-wine-drinking expression of limitless power is the earliest appearance of Shakti, the female energy, representing the living productive form of the inactive, unknowable, unapproachable Absolute." (*The Word of Lalla*, 65-66.)

(To be continued.)

## WHY KEWAT WOMEN ARE BLACK.

(A Chhattisgarhi Folk-song.)

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL.

THE town of Bilâspur, the headquarters of the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, derives its name from Bilâsa, a Kevâṭa woman, who is said to have burnt herself at that place under circumstances which form the subject of a popular Chhattisgarhî song known as *Kevâṭina-gîta*, usually sung by Dewârs, a tribe of wandering mendicants found in that country. Bilâsa was a very beautiful woman and was so rich that she used to expose her fish on a silver tray, while she herself sat on a golden chair. The Râjâ of Ratanpur, so the story goes, once went to Bilâspur and visited the bâzâr, where this Kevâṭina at once attracted his attention. Her beauty captivating him, he opened conversation with her by asking the price of various kinds of fish she had for sale. Clever as she was, she gave the prices in equivocal terms; for instance, she said that the price of the *aîchhâ* fish was equal to that of a Telî (oilman), and the price of a crab equal to that of a barber, thus subtly alluding to the qualities of the fish she vended, the *aîchhâ* being an oily fish, and the crab being noted for its tight grip, which she compared with that of a barber, who holds a man's head firmly while shaving him. The Râjâ's servants, observing that their master was no match for the woman in a battle of wits, suggested that she might be caught hold of and taken along, whereupon the Kevâṭina fled from her shop. As she was pursued, she held up her garment to the sun (Sûrya), praying that he would save her honour, and thereupon her dress took fire and she was consumed to ashes. Seeing what had happened, the Râjâ went on his way, and the village children ran to the river, where her husband was busy catching fish, and told him that his wife had committed *satî*, under the belief that he had been eaten by crocodiles. In order to ascertain the true cause of her death he engaged some sorcerers, by whose power of witchcraft the Kevâṭina descended into the flame of a lamp, and intimated that owing to her fair complexion and beauty the Râjâ had desired to outrage her modesty, and therefore she had burnt herself. She stated, further, that she had asked a boon from God that all Kevâṭinas should henceforth be born black, so that they should run no risk of being dishonoured, and also that in commemoration of her immolation (a sanctifying act) her caste should be considered purified. That is the reason why Kevâṭinas are black and why persons of all castes eat *chanâ* and *murrâ* (gram and rice) parched by them without any objection.

The Chhattisgarhî songs are a curious mixture of jingling rhymes and prose—a sort of compromise between the two, with a view perhaps to avoid monotony—of which a fair specimen is afforded by the *Kevâṭina-gîta* reproduced below. The song also furnishes some points of linguistic and ethnographic interest:—

*Chhitakî kuriyâ<sup>1</sup> mukuta<sup>2</sup> duâra,*  
*Bhitarî Kevâṭina kase singâra<sup>3</sup>;*  
*Khôpa<sup>4</sup> pâre ringî chingî,<sup>5</sup>*  
*Okara<sup>6</sup> bhîlara sonâ ke singî.<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> *Kuriyâ* is a peculiar Chhattisgarhî word for a 'hut.' It seems to be derived from *kurai*, or branches of the *kurru* tree (*Gardenia lucida*), with which the hut is made. The word *kurai* has now become generalized, and is not restricted to the branches of the *kurru* alone, but is applied to the branches of any tree used for roofing a hut.

<sup>2</sup> *Mukuta* or *mukata* = 'many' or 'much.' It is also used in this sense in Baghelkhandî Hindî.

<sup>3</sup> *Singâra kasnâ* is a peculiar idiom in Chhattisgarhî, equivalent to *singâra karnâ*. *Kasnâ* otherwise implies a sort of contempt, and is used of animals, e.g., *ghoḍâ kaso*, 'get the horse ready.'

<sup>4</sup> *Khôpâ* means a corner, as, for instance, of a house or room. The lower castes in Chhattisgarh tie their hair in a knot, not on the back of the head, as the Marâṭhî women do, but at a corner in front.

<sup>5</sup> *Ringî chingî* is the same as *rangâ chingâ*, 'gaudy.'

<sup>6</sup> *Okara* = *uskâ* or *uske*: *kara*, or *kar*, is generally used for *kâ* with demonstrative or interrogative pronouns, e.g., *kâkar*, 'whose'?

<sup>7</sup> *Singî* is a comb, deriving its name from *sînga*, or 'horn,' of which it used to be made. The word has become more generalized, and a wooden comb may also be called *singî*.

*Mārai pānī bichhalai bāṭa,*  
*Ṭhamakata Kevaṭina chalai bajāra.*  
*Āna<sup>8</sup> baithe chheva<sup>9</sup> chhakāra,*  
*Kevaṭina baithe bīcha bajāra,*  
*Sonā ke mākhi rūpa ke parā.<sup>10</sup>*  
*Rājā āisa Kevaṭina karā :<sup>11</sup>*  
*Mola bisāha [Kevaṭina] saba koī khāya,*  
*Phokatā<sup>12</sup> machharī koī nahī khāya ;*  
*Kahu<sup>13</sup> [Kevaṭina] āpana machharī ke<sup>14</sup> mola.*  
*Kā kahihāñ [Rājā] machharī ke mola ?*  
*Daṇḍawā<sup>15</sup> machharī Gaṇḍawā<sup>16</sup> mola ;*  
*Ghasarā<sup>17</sup> machharī Kalarā mola ;*  
*Aīchhā<sup>18</sup> machharī Telī mola ;*  
*Sodihā<sup>19</sup> machharī Sunarā mola ;*  
*Lūdū<sup>20</sup> machharī Dhurwā mola ;*  
*Bañjū<sup>21</sup> machharī Baniā mola ;*  
*Bhākura<sup>22</sup> machharī Ṭhākura mola ;*  
*Paḍhinā<sup>23</sup> machharī Pāṇḍe mola ;*  
*Jātā chingrā<sup>24</sup> Sanāsī mola ;*  
*Bhedo<sup>25</sup> machharī Gaḍariā mola ;*

<sup>8</sup> *Āna*, or *ān*, is a corruption of the Sanskrit *anya*, 'another.'

<sup>9</sup> *Chheva* means a 'corner'; and *chhakāra* is a jingling expletive, which would mean nothing without *chheva*. Cf. *kenā menā*, where *menā* has no independent meaning of its own.

<sup>10</sup> A *parā* is a circular, flat tray, usually made of split bamboo, upon which fish or parched grain, etc., is exposed for sale; but this *Kevaṭina*, being very rich, had one made of silver.

<sup>11</sup> *Karā* is a preposition meaning 'near,' or 'to.'

<sup>12</sup> *Phokat*, in Hindī, means 'for nothing,' 'gratis.'

<sup>13</sup> Mark the termination *u* in the imperative, which is peculiar to the roots ending in *h*. Its use, however, is not confined to such verbs alone, especially in poetry. For instance, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Laṅkā kaṇḍa*, 29) we have: *Sunu matimanda dehi aba pūrā*, where *sunu* is used for the ordinary *suno*.

<sup>14</sup> A peculiar form of *Chhattisgarhī*, where, for the genitive case, instead of the singular form *kā*, the plural form *ke* is used. It does not change with the gender of the following word; for example, see further on, where *Rājā ke bāta chīta* occurs, instead of *Rājā kī bāta chīta*.

<sup>15</sup> This variety of fish jumps about in shallow water, and is compared to a *Gāṇḍā*, a man of low caste much given to dancing and jumping about.

<sup>16</sup> *Gaṇḍawā* is a contemptuous form of *Gaṇḍā*, as *Kalarā* is of *Kalāra*, and *Ahirā* of *Ahira* further on. They have been used in these forms so as to rhyme with the names of the fishes mentioned.

<sup>17</sup> The *ghasarā* fish is also known as *boda*, which means 'sluggish,' and is compared to a *Kalār*, or distiller, supposed to be a drunkard.

<sup>18</sup> The *aīchhā* is also called *rechhā*. It has an oily appearance, and has small eyes, which look as if covered. Its price is given as equivalent to a *Telī*, or oilman, who covers the eyes of his bullocks when yoked to the oil-press.

<sup>19</sup> The *sodihā*, a name apparently derived from *sūṇḍa*, an elephant's 'trunk,' has a long trunk-like snout, resembling the tongs of a *Sunār*. It swallows other fish as the *Sunār* consumes others' gold.

<sup>20</sup> The *lūdū*, or *rūdū*, is tenacious of life and takes a long time to kill, just as rice fried by a *Dhurī* or *Dhurwā* is hard and takes long to crush.

<sup>21</sup> The *bañjū*, or *bijahiwā*, is slippery, like a *Baniyā*, and is believed to increase the quantity of blood in the body, as does wealth in the case of the *Baniyā*.

<sup>22</sup> The *bhākura*, known also as *bhundā*, is a powerful fish and sometimes breaks the earthen vessel in which it is kept, like a powerful *Ṭhākur* or *Rājpūt*.

<sup>23</sup> This is a delicate fish, which dies if the water is made muddy, so it is likened to a *Pāṇḍe*, who is regarded as delicate.

<sup>24</sup> This variety of fish is hairy, like a *sannyāsī*, or ascetic, who wears his hair matted and twisted in a tuft (*jaṭā*).

<sup>25</sup> The *bhedo* is covered with thick scales, as the sheep of a *Gaḍariyā*, or *Gareriya* (shepherd), are covered with wool.

*Salgata bāmī<sup>26</sup> Bamhand mola ;*  
*Kārā jīyā<sup>27</sup> Ahirā mola ;*  
*Khokhasī<sup>28</sup> machharī Gōṛā ke mola ;*  
*Jhorī<sup>29</sup> machharī Binjhwarā mola ;*  
*Salāgi<sup>30</sup> machharī Dewāra mola ;*  
*Kakrā<sup>31</sup> Mardaniā<sup>32</sup> ke mola.*

Here the jingling verses break off, and the story is continued in prose, as below :—

*Yetakā<sup>33</sup> sunake Rājā Kevatīna lā<sup>34</sup> goṭā karā mā<sup>35</sup> māris. Tabā olā bhajīā<sup>36</sup> kē bhāra lāgis. Jaba Kevatīna au Rājā ke bāta chīla bhais,<sup>37</sup> taba nokara manā<sup>38</sup> kihin<sup>39</sup> ki Kevatīna harā<sup>40</sup> bāta bāta mā jītat hai, jā ekara hātha bāha lā dhara leve. Tabā Kevatīna dāra ke māre bhāge hai. Abakā tabakā Rājā Kevatīna ke bāha lā dharlīs titake juāra,<sup>41</sup> Kevatīna harā surujā dahara acharā lavāis aur jara barā ke rākha bhaigais. Tab Rājā ghara lahuṭā āis. Puna gāva ke laikā-mana Kevatā se kihin, tolā to suisa ghariyāra dhara dāris, tikara khātara Kevatīna harā satī gais. Tabā Kevatā kahis, kaun lag satī gai hai ? Tabā laikā-mana batāin ki ohichā,<sup>42</sup> lag satī gais hai, jāuna rākha pare hai. Tabā Kevatā harā sāta lugarā ke bolavāra dihis aur sāta dina jagarahī dekhis, tā diyā ke tema me Kevatīna harā utaris aur Kevatā sudhā<sup>43</sup> bolis ki mā<sup>44</sup> aneka sundara raheū, to Rājā molā dharata rahis hai ; taba mā<sup>45</sup> satī gayeū au Bhagavān se apna rūpa māgeū ki molā kārī jhunakī<sup>44</sup> kā janama de. Kevatīna bhūñje chandā murrā<sup>45</sup> lā saba koī khāya, āna ke bhūñje lā koī na khāya.*

<sup>26</sup> The *bāmī* is an eel-like fish, and wriggles and twists like the sacred thread of a Brāhmaṇ. The word *salgata*, which qualifies it here, is a vernacular corruption of *sarkat*, i.e., *saraktī hūī*, from *sarakand*, to 'move,' or 'slip,' which also conveys the idea of wriggling, snake-like motion.

<sup>27</sup> This fish is supposed to be stupid like an Ahīra (cowherd). There are many proverbs in the vernaculars of northern India referring to the stupidity of the Ahīras.

<sup>28</sup> This fish is unshapely, and is compared with the figure of a Gōṛā.

<sup>29</sup> The *jhorī* fish keep together in shoals, just as the Binjhwar tribe go about in parties. *Jhorī* is a form of *jholī*, from *jhol* (Hindī), a 'batch' (of eggs), a 'litter' (of pigs), and so, metaphorically, a 'number.'

<sup>30</sup> The *salāgi*, *salāngī* or *sarāngī*, is compared with the musical instrument of the latter name used by Dewārs, who are very fond of catching this fish.

<sup>31</sup> A crab grips tightly with its claws, as a barber does with his hand.

<sup>32</sup> A barber is called *mardaniyā* because he shampoos (*mardan karnā*).

<sup>33</sup> *Yetakā* = *itnā* (Hindī, *itnā*).

<sup>34</sup> *Lā* = *ko*, a preposition borrowed from Marāṭhī.

<sup>35</sup> *Goṭā karā mā* is a peculiar idiom, meaning literally 'in the pebble.' Here *mā* is used for *se* or *le* of Chhattisgarhī.

<sup>36</sup> *Bhajīā* is a preparation of gram, and is, of course, light.

<sup>37</sup> *Bhais* would be *hūī* in modern Hindī, or *bhai* in the Baghelkhandī dialect. This form is usually found in the past tense. Tulasī Dāsa often uses it, e.g., *Bhā pramoda manā miṭī galānī* (*Ayodhya* k. 220).

<sup>38</sup> *Manā* is a plural affix, borrowed from the Oriya *māne* or *māna*; but, while in Oriya the form changes according as it is used of animate or inanimate things, in Chhattisgarhī no change is made on this account.

<sup>39</sup> *Kihin* is a peculiar form of *kahin*, that is, *kahā*, 'said.'

<sup>40</sup> *Hara* is a definite article peculiar to Chhattisgarhī.

<sup>41</sup> *Titake juāra* means 'at that time.' *Titake* represents the Hindī *tithe*. *Juāra* originally means midday, but is used in Chhattisgarhī in the sense of 'time,' 'moment.'

<sup>42</sup> *Ohichā* is equivalent to the Hindī *usī*: the particle *chā* is added for emphasis.

<sup>43</sup> *Sudhā*, or *suddhā*, is generally used in place of *sahita*, 'with.' Here it is equivalent to the preposition *se*.

<sup>44</sup> *Jhunakī* is a woman whose anklets make *jhunjhun* noise, hence a young woman. Cf. *Aruna tarani nakha jyoti Jagamagita jhunjhun karata pāya paijaniyā*. (Śrādhāsa.)

<sup>45</sup> *Murrā* is fried rice which is used as breakfast in Chhattisgarh and adjoining Oriya States. It is derived from *murānā* to chew. *Murrā* is always chewed like *pān* or betel leaves.

## TRANSLATION.

(There was) a Kevaṭina who used to live in a small cottage with many doors, inside which she used to adorn herself, tying her hair in beautiful knots and fixing a golden comb therein. Even on rainy days, when the road was slippery, the Kevaṭina would stroll with mincing gait to the bâzâr. While others sat in nooks and corners, the Kevaṭina used to sit in the middle of the bâzâr on a golden chair, with a silver tray (before her). (Once) the Râjâ came up to the Kevaṭina (and said): "All eat fish after paying for it; nobody eats fish without payment: so tell me, Kevaṭina, the price of thy fish." "What price may I tell of my fish, oh Râjâ? The *daṇḍawâ* fish is the same price as a Gaṇḍawâ; the *ghasarâ* fish is the price of a Kalâra; the *aīchhâ* fish, that of a Telî; the *sodihâ* fish, that of a Sunâra; the *lûdû* fish, that of a Dhurwâ; the *bañjû* fish, that of a Baniyâ; the *bhâkura* fish, that of a Thâkura; the *paḍhinâ* fish, that of a Pânḍe; the *jâtâ chingrâ* fish, that of a Sannyâsî; the *bhedo* fish, that of a Gaḍariâ; the wriggling *bâmî*, that of a Brâhmaṇa; the *kârâ jiyâ*, that of an Ahîra; the *khokhasî* fish, that of a Goṇḍ; the *jhorî* fish, that of a Binjhwar; the *salâgî* fish, that of a Dewâr; (and) the crab that of a barber. The Râjâ, having listened so far, threw a stone at the Kevaṭina, but she (only) felt as if a ball of gram had been thrown at her. The Kevaṭina, however, made a suitable reply in words. The Râjâ's servants thereupon said: "This Kevaṭina is winning every point. Go and seize her by the hands and arms." The Kevaṭina then fled through fear. The Râjâ would have secured the Kevaṭina by some means, but at that moment she held out the skirt of her dress to the sun, whereupon she was completely burnt and turned into ashes. The Râjâ then returned home. After this the village boys said to the Kevaṭâ (her husband): "The Kevaṭina has committed *satî*, thinking that thou hadst been eaten up by alligators and crocodiles. The Kevaṭâ asked: "Where did she commit *satî*?" "There, where the ashes are" (they replied). Then the Kevaṭâ made a vow to offer up seven pieces of cloth, and for seven days kept awake, looking at a lamp, in the flame of which the Kevaṭina appeared and said to the Kevaṭâ: "I was very beautiful and therefore the Râjâ was trying to catch me, so I burnt myself and asked God to give me birth in the form of a black woman; Let everybody eat rice and gram parched by a Kevaṭina, and not (that parched) by others."

## MISCELLANEA.

## CORRUPTIONS OF URDU IN THE PENAL SETTLEMENT OF PORT BLAIR.

The following note is taken out of the *Census Report* of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1901, and is useful to show how new forms and words creep into Urdu owing to local conditions in different parts of India. At Port Blair the conditions are of course most unusual, as a large number of convicts from every part of the Indian Empire are there collected, and it was naturally essential to select a *lingua franca*, which all would have to learn to a certain extent. It was equally natural to select Urdu for that purpose, and it is accordingly now found to be spoken there in every possible variety of corruption and with every variety of accent. All the convicts learn it to an extent sufficient for their daily wants and the understanding of orders and directions. It is also the vernacular of the local born, whatever their descent. The small extent to which many absolute strangers to it, such as the Burmese, inhabitants of Madras, and so on, master it is one of the safeguards of the Settlement, as it makes it impossible for any general plot to be hatched. In barracks, in boats, and on works where men have to be congregated, every

care is taken to split up nationalities, with the result that, except on matters of daily common concern, the convicts are unable to converse confidentially together.

The Urdu of Port Blair is thus not only exceedingly corrupt from natural causes, but it is filled with technicalities arising out of local conditions and the special requirements of convict life. Even the vernacular of the local born is loaded with them. These technicalities are partly derived from English and are partly specialised applications to new uses of pure or corrupted Urdu words.

The most prominent grammatical characteristic of this dialect of Urdu appears in the numerals, which are everywhere Urdu, but are not spoken according to correct Urdu custom. Thus, the convicts and all dealing with them count up to 20 regularly, and then between the tens simply add the units, instead of using special terms, *e.g.*, a convict, whatever his nationality or mother-tongue, will give his number, say, 12,536, as *bârâ hazâr pānch sau tīs chhe*, twelve thousand five hundred thirty six. He would never say, even if born and bred in Hindustani proper, *bârâ hazâr pānch sau*

*chhattis*. The convict must be addressed in the same manner, or he will most probably misapprehend what is said. There is an analogy to this custom in French Switzerland, where it is common to hear *septante* for seventy, and *nonnante* for ninety.

The following words have been heard even in the mouths of Burmans unable to make themselves understood in Urdu :—

*Bijan*.—This means now a barrack for convicts as distinguished from a barrack for troops or police, though various corruptions of "barrack" are also used for that purpose. It is really English in origin, and represents the word "division," the corruption having taken place on vulgar Urdu lines. Thus "*di*" has dropped out, *v* has become *b* and the *zh* sound of *si* has become *j*, quite according to custom. Originally the convicts were divided into "divisions," each of which slept in a barrack. Hence the present application of the term.

*Tāpū*.—This means a convict "station." It is really good Urdu for an "island." Originally all the convict stations were situated on small islands in Port Blair Harbour. Hence its present application to any convict station, inland or on an island.

*Sikshan*.—This means now either the "sick list," or the Female Jail. It is the English word "section." Originally the major division of the convicts was into sections, of which No. XVII was the convalescent gang, the sick and unable to do any or full work. The women were of course all in the Female Section. Hence the present double application of the word, kept in existence no doubt in the first case owing to the likeness of "*sikshan*" to the familiar "*sik-mān*" of the Native Army Hospitals. *Sattrā Bijan*, i.e., XVIIth Division, is also in common use for "convalescent gang."

*Waipar*.—The first jail constructed in the Settlement was on Viper Island, so named after Blair's ship. It is now dwarfed by the great Cellular Jail on Atalanta Point, so named after a man-of-war of Blair's day, which is the Jail *par excellence*, much to be avoided in the eyes of the convicts, the other is simply *waipur*. Another mighty jail was in 1901 being constructed at Minnie Bay (named after another by-gone gunboat), and it would have been interesting to see what popular term would be applied to it, had it ever been completed. By the way, *Goplakabang* is already *Gobang* in common parlance and script, and the name is likely to have "no derivation" in days to come.

*Dhōbī*.—A washerman, and *tālāsh*, search, are pure Urdu, but they are two of the first words picked by Burmans and non-Indians, and it is curious to hear them in the midst of an otherwise purely Burmese sentence.

*Pēti Afsar*, for "petty officer," is unquestionably referred by Native speakers to the *pēti*, belt, they all wear, and not to the English word. I have heard them spoken of simply as *pētiwālā*, the men who wear belts, though in ordinary Anglo-Indian slang *pētiwālā*, translated into "boxwallah," is the

hawker who sells articles of female attire and familiar wants, and *pattiwālā* exists for those familiar with the language for the belt-wearer, i.e., the messenger or peon.

*Tōtal*.—In common use among the convicts, who are being constantly counted for all sorts of reasons. Petty Officers are told off to count them in batches, and as each finishes his batch he brings up his "total." *Tōtal karnā*, to compare the totals.

*Dipātmant* for Department : means the Forest Department, that being the first separate department created at Port Blair.

*Dipātmant Sāhib*.—Forest Officer. *Dipātmant-wālā*, a convict told off to work in the Forest Department.

*Shēr Sāhib*.—*Shēr* shortened from "overseer" for its likeness to the common Indian word *shēr*, a tiger. An European overseer of convicts.

*Signal*.—For signal = a semagram. There was in 1901 an elaborate system of semagraph signals at Port Blair worked by the Military Police.

*Tikat, tikattī*.—A ticket-of-leave, also its holder. *Tikatwālā*, a man with a ticket-of-leave, a self-supporter. *Tikat* is also used for the wooden "neck-ticket" worn by labouring convicts.

*Parmōsh*.—Promotion. This is in common use amongst the Military Police, and also amongst the convicts, who are constantly being transferred from class to class on "promotion."

*Kilās, class*.—The convicts are arranged in classes.

*Sikmān, Sikomān*.—Sick man, used for a convict when in hospital : hence for any human being on the "sick-list" : hence, again, for any Government animal on the "sick-list," e.g., an elephant, pony, bullock.

*Rēl, rail*, originally a railing, now any kind of hedge or fence.

*Rāshan, ration*.—The labouring convicts are all rationed. *Rāshan-mēt*, ration mate ; i.e., the convict told off to help the cooks to keep and distribute the rations.

*Dūdh-lain, lit.*, the Milk-lines, i.e., a place where milch-cattle have once been kept. Two or more places are so named.

*Lambā-lain* (the Long Line), a well known long straggling village in the Northern District.

*Namūnaghar, lit.* Pattern-house. The name of a village, a convict station and some quarries, because a sample (*namūna*) house (*ghar*) for convicts, according to which men on ticket-of-leave must build their huts, was here set up by the Government.

*Nimak-bhattā, salt-pans*.—More than one place is so called because of a former salt factory on the spot from sea water.

"Portland Cement" becomes *simin, simint*, and *sirmit*.

"Mess, mess-house" becomes *messcott* in petitions, being a mixture of Eng. "mess" and Hind. *kōt*, house.

*Kwangtung*, the name of a local ship, becomes *Kultin*.

*Bis*, the Hindustani word for "twenty" is used by some of the convicts in giving their numbers; thus, when asked his name and number, a man will reply: "Bis 172." By this he means "No. 172B." A good many years ago the numbering of the convicts was recommenced from the beginning and the second series were distinguished by the English letter B.

Among building terms the following are commonly in use: *Hálpilát* for wall plate; *batan* for batten; *kinpôsh* for kingpost; *kirnis* for screen.

*Hangling*.—My kitchen lately required some repairs to the roof, and as these were being delayed I made some enquiries from the cook, and received the following reply: "*kuchh nahin huá; hangling abhî nahin dyá*": nothing has been done; the angle iron has not yet come. I have also heard *hingain* used, which has a much more Urdu sound.

*Motarpha*.—This now practically obsolete term still appears in the annual budget for the Andaman Islands. E.g., in the Revenue items of the Estimate for the year 1900-01 is:—"Moturpa (house tax) collections." The old *moturpha*, *moturfa* of the Madras Revenue was not a tax on houses, but on professions and trades. It was abolished finally quite thirty years before 1901. The vernacular word is *muhtarafa*: Ar. *hirfa*, a handicraft.

Many of the existing place names about Port Blair are English, and the corruptions thereof by the convicts and their native guards are interesting, showing that striving after a meaning, which is so prolific of verbal corruptions all over the world. E.g.—

Mount Harriett becomes *Môhan Rêt*.

Perseverance Point ,, *Parasu Pêt & Parson Pêt*.

Shore Point becomes *Sûwar Pêt*.  
Navy Bay ,, *Nabbî Bêg*.  
Phoenix Bay ,, *Pinik Bêg*.  
Barwell Ghat ,, *Bâlû Ghât*.

Harriett was the name of the wife of Colonel Tytler, a former Superintendent. Perseverance and Phoenix were the names of Royal Ships in Blair's day. Shore Point is named after Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Governor-General. General Barwell was a former Chief Commissioner. There is also a large village called *Anikhêt* (now often converted into *Rânikhêt*), a conscious pun on the name of a daughter of a former Chief Commissioner, who was named Annie Kate. The largest steam launch in the harbour is named *The Belle*, after a daughter of another former Chief Commissioner, which has proved an unfortunate name, for the vessel is invariably called by the Natives "*Bellî i Jaház*."

The station of Elephant Point has been translated into *Háthî Tápû* and *Háthî Ghât*. The stations of Navy Bay, Dundas Point, South Point, and Phoenix Bay are all also frequently indiscriminately called *Chând Bhattá*, because there is now, or has been at some former time, a lime-kiln at these spots. Convicts never forget a place at which there has been a lime-kiln: they hate the work so. So, also, there is a village called *Chauldârî* (for *chholdârî*) in the Southern District after a former convict camp at the spot; but the station of Middle Point, a long way off in the Northern District, is also commonly known to the convicts as *Chauldârî* for the same reason.

Sometimes the native names for places are merely corruptions of the English words, without any effort at a meaning; e.g., *Ubtén* for Hope Town where Lord Mayo was murdered, and *Hárdô* for Haddo. Port Blair itself is always *Pôt Bilér* and Port Mouat always *Pôtmôt*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

### BOOK-NOTICE.

JAINA INSCRIPTIONS, collected and compiled by PURAN CHAND NAHAR. In three parts, with plates, etc.

We have received two parts of this valuable collection of Jaina inscriptions, viz., parts 2 and 3. The plan of the work is to give the text of all the known inscriptions relating to the Jainas and Jainism, together with an index of places where the inscriptions were found, a glossary of the names of the *Āchāryas*, together with illustrative plates. The total number of inscriptions comes to 2,592. Of these, the first 1,000 go into Part 1; from 1,001 to 2,111 go into Part 2; and the remainder, which are included in Part 3, are inscriptions collected in Jaisalmîr. These inscriptions are all more or less of a modern character, and in the arrangement adopted, the texts are given correctly, with typical plates in illustration of the more important inscriptions. The volumes are provided with some useful indexes, with special indexes of a geographical character and a list

of the *Āchāryas*. There are also some very useful and interesting illustrations. The labours of Mr. Nahar have thus provided in a handy form a fairly complete list of these inscriptions for ready reference.

In regard to the matter of these inscriptions, they relate to the establishment of Jain temples and all matters connected therewith, the provision of funds and arrangements for other appurtenances of these temples. Now and again we come upon matters of interest like the *Paṭṭāvali* lists, general information like that relating to *Panchakalyāṇaka*, which means the asterism under which the Jain *Āchāryas* were conceived, were born, were initiated, attained to wisdom, and finally to emancipation. The work is bound to prove very useful in the reconstruction of Jaina history and will have its own value even to the student of the general history and culture of India. We congratulate the collector and publisher on the interest and enterprise which the volumes exhibit.

S. K. AIYANGAR

## ON THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS.

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.

[The following pages were originally intended to form a part of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*. Their preparation was greatly delayed by the demands of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, and the progress made was so slow that, by the time I was free from the latter, I had been able to prepare only the earlier sections. I then found that reasons of health and age prohibited my going further with this difficult and complicated work, and, to my great regret, I was compelled to ask the Editor of the *Grundriss* to release me from the task. It has therefore been transferred to the competent hands of Professor R. L. Turner, of the University of London, and I have now no more to do with it.]

The manuscript of the portion already written by me, however, still remains in my hands. It consists of two *Introductory Chapters* and of the greater part of the section dealing with *Phonetics*. These represent a considerable amount of labour, and as, so far as they go, they are complete in themselves, they perhaps contain information not hitherto readily available. Friends who have examined the manuscript have been kind enough to urge me to publish it. I hesitated, because I was conscious of its fragmentary character, and could feel no certainty of being able to complete it even as a fragment of the larger work originally contemplated. But Sir Richard Temple has honoured me by offering to print what I have written as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*, so I have abandoned my hesitation and offer it in the hope that my fellow students of Indian languages may now and then find in it something of use. It is necessary to explain that the first two chapters have already appeared in a preliminary form in volume I of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (1918-19). These have now been brought up to date, and are here reprinted with the necessary corrections.]

### List of Abbreviations.

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| <p>A. = Assamese.</p> <p>A. Dicy. = <i>Hema Kosha or an Etymological Dictionary of the Assamese Language</i>. By Hemchandra Barua. Published under the authority of the Assam Administration, 1900.</p> <p>A. Dicy. Br. = <i>A Dictionary in Assamese and English</i>. Compiled by M. Bronson. Sibsâgar, 1867.</p> <p>A. Gr. = <i>Grammatical Notes on the Assamese Language</i>. By N. Brown. Third edition. Nowgong, 1893.</p> <p>abl. = ablative.</p> <p>acc. = accusative.</p> <p>ag. = agentive, or case of the agent.</p> <p>AJP. = <i>American Journal of Philology</i>.</p> <p>AMg. Ap. = <i>Ardhamāgadha Apabhraṃśa</i>.</p> <p>AMg. Pr. = <i>Ardhamāgadhi Prakrit</i> = Pr. (AMg.).</p> <p>Ap. = <i>Apabhraṃśa</i>.</p> <p>Ap. Mat. = <i>Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa. Ein Nachtrag zur Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen</i>. Von R. Pischel, Berlin, 1902.</p> <p>Ar. = Arabic.</p> | <p>AR = <i>Asiatic Researches</i>.</p> <p>Aś. = <i>Aśkund Kāfir</i>.</p> <p>Aś. Gr. = <i>The Language of the Ashkun Kāfirs</i>. By G. Morgenstierne. In <i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>. II (1929), 192 ff.</p> <p>Av. = <i>Avesta</i>.</p> <p>Aw. = <i>Awadhī</i> = EH. (Aw.).</p> <p>B. = <i>Bihārī</i>.</p> <p>B. Gr. = <i>Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Bihārī Language</i>. By G. A. Grierson. Eight volumes. Calcutta, 1883-1887.</p> <p>B. (Bh.) = <i>Bhojpurī</i>.</p> <p>B. (Mg.) = <i>Magahī</i>.</p> <p>B. (Mth.) = <i>Maithilī</i>.</p> <p>B. (Mth.) Gr. = <i>An Introduction to the Maithilī Dialect of the Bihārī Language as spoken in North Bihār</i>. By G. A. Grierson. Second edition. Calcutta, 1909.</p> <p>B. (Mth.) Dicy. = <i>Chrestomathy and Vocabulary</i>, being Part II of the first edition of B. (Mth.) Gr. Calcutta, 1882.</p> <p>Bg. = <i>Bengali</i>.</p> |
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Bg. Dicy. = *A Dictionary, Bengali and Sanskrit, explained in English.* By G. C. Haughton. London, 1833.

Bg. Gr. = *Grammar of the Bengali Language, Literary and Colloquial.* By John Beames, Oxford, 1894.

Bg. Gr. Ch. = *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language.* By Sunīti Kumār Chatterji. Calcutta, 1925.

Bgh. = Baghēlī = EH. (Bgh.).

Bh. = Bhojpuri = B. (Bh.).

Bhn. = *Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages.* Delivered in 1877 by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Ph.D., Member of the French Institute, etc., etc. Carried through the Press by Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Bombay, 1914. [Some of these Lectures were previously printed in JBRA, XVI and XVII.]

Bid. = *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh.* By J. Biddulph. Calcutta, 1880.

Bn. = Bundēlī = H. (Bn.).

Br. = Braj Bhākhā = H. (Br.).

Bs. = Beames.

Bs. Cp. Gr. = *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India.* By John Beames. Three volumes, London, 1872-1879.

Bš. = Bašgalī Kāfir.

Bš. Dicy. = *Bashgali Dictionary.* By Sten Konow. Calcutta (ASB.), 1913.

Bš. Gr. = *Notes on the Bashgalī (Kāfir) Language.* Compiled by J. Davidson. Calcutta, 1902.

BSOS. = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London.

BSL. = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.*

C. prefixed to a language name = Central.

CASR. = Cunningham, Archæological Survey Reports.

Ch. = Chattisgarhī = EH. (Ch.).

Cm. = Cameālī = WPh. (Cm.).

coll. = colloquial.

conj. part. = conjunctive participle.

CPh. = Central Pahārī. There is no Grammar or Dictionary. Cf., however, H. Gr.

CPh. (Grh.) = Garhwālī.

CPh. (Km.) = Kumaunī.

CPś. Pr. = Cūlikāpaiśācika Prakrit = Pr. (CPś.)

D. = Dōgrī = P. (D.).

dat. = dative.

dial. = dialect.

Div. = Divatiā. See GLL.

Drd. = The Dardic or Modern Piśāca languages.

Drd. Group = The Dard Group of the Modern Piśāca languages.

Dś = Dēśya.

E prefixed to a language name = East.

EH. = Eastern Hindī. There is no separate Grammar or Dictionary. Cf., however, H. Gr. and the following.

EH. Gr. Gr. = *Notes on the Grammar of the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās.* By Edwin Greaves. Benares, 1895.

EH. (Aw.) = Awadhī.

EH. (Bgh.) = Baghēlī.

EH. (Ch.) = Chattisgarhī.

EHI. = Elliot, *History of India, told by its own Historians.*

EI. = Epigraphia Indica.

EIAV(s). = Eastern Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (B. A. Bg. O.).

EIIAV. = Eastern Intermediate Indo-Aryan Vernacular (EH.).

Eng. = English.

EPh. = Eastern Pahārī or Naipālī.

EPh. Gr. = *Nepali i.e. Gorkhali or Parbati Grammar and Vocabulary.* By A. Turnbull. Second Edition, Darjeeling, 1904. Cf. also H. Gr.

esp. = especially.

fem. = feminine.

FLM. = Jules Bloch, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe,* Paris, 1914.

G. = Gujarātī.

G. Dicy. = *The Student's Gujarati-English Dictionary.* Compiled and Edited by Bhagu F. Karbhari. Ahmadābād, 1899.

G. Gr. = *The Student's Gujarātī Grammar.* By Geo. P. Taylor. Second Ed., Bombay, 1908.

G. Ph. = *Gujarātī Phonology.* By R. L. Turner in JRAS, 1921, 329 ff. and 505 ff.

gen. = genitive.

GIP. = *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, herausgegeben von W. Ch. Geiger und Ernst Kuhn. Strassburg, 1895—1904.  
 GLL. = *Gujarātī Language and Literature*. By N. B. Divatiā. Bombay, 1921.  
 GNPE. = *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, von Paul Horn. Strassburg, 1893.  
 Gr. = Grammar.  
 Grh. = Garhwālī = CPh. (Grh.).  
 Grs. = Grierson.  
 Grs. Suff. = *On certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*. In ZVS, 1903, pp. 473 ff.  
 Grw. = Gārwī.  
 GSIA. = *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*.  
 Gwr. = Gawar-bati.  
 H. = Hindī.  
 H. Dicy. = *A Dictionary of the Hindee Language*. Compiled by J. D. Bate. Benares and London, 1875. Cf. also Hn. Dicy.  
 H. Gr. = *A Grammar of the Hindī Language: in which are treated the High Hindī, Braj, and the Eastern Hindī of the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās, also the Colloquial Dialects of Rājputānā, Kumāon, Avadh, Riwā, Bhojpur, Magadha, Maithila (sic), etc.*, by S. H. Kellogg. Second edition, London, 1893.  
 H. Gr. Gr. = *A Grammar of Modern Hindī*. By Edwin Greaves. Revised edition, Benares, 1908.  
 H. (Bn.) = Bundēlī.  
 H. (Br.) = Braj Bhākhā.  
 H. (Hn.) = Hindōstānī.  
 H. (Kn.) = Kanaujī.  
 Ho. = *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen*. Herausgegeben von Richard Pischel. Two volumes. Halle, 1877, 1880.  
 HH. = High Hindī.  
 Hl. = Hoernle.  
 Hl. Gd. Gr. = *A Grammar of the Eastern Hindī compared with the other Gaudian Languages*. By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. London, 1880.  
 Hl. R. = *A Collection of Hindī Roots with Remarks on their Derivation and Classification, accompanied by an Index of Sanskrit Roots and Words*. By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. (Reprinted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). Calcutta, 1880.

Hn. = Hindōstānī. = H. (Hn.).  
 Hn. Dicy. = *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*. By John T. Platts. London, 1884.  
 Hn. Gr. = *A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language*. By John T. Platts. London, 1874.  
 Hn. Man. = *Hindustani Manual*. By D. C. Phillott. Calcutta, 1910.  
 IA. = Indian Antiquary.  
 IAV(s). = Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s).  
 EIAV(s). = Eastern Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (B. A. Bg. O.).  
 EIIAV. = Eastern Intermediate Indo-Aryan Vernacular (EH.).  
 IIAV(s). = Intermediate Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (EH. R. G. P.).  
 MIAV. = Midland Indo-Aryan Vernacular (H.).  
 NWIAV(s). = North-Western Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (L. S.).  
 OuIAV(s). = Outer Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (L. S. M. B. A. Bg. O.).  
 SIAV. = Southern Indo-Aryan Vernacular (M.).  
 WIIAV(s). = Western Intermediate Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (R. G. P.).  
 IIAV(s). = Intermediate Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (EH. R. G. P.).  
 IG<sup>2</sup>. = Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1907.  
 instr. = instrumental.  
 J. = Jaipurī = R. (J.).  
 JA. = Journal Asiatique.  
 JAOS. = Journal, American Oriental Society.  
 JASB. = Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, and since 1905, Journal and Proceedings of the same.  
 JBORS. = Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.  
 JBRA. = Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 Jn. = Jaunsārī = WPh. (Jn.).  
 JRAS. = Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.  
 Kf. = The Kāfir Group of Dardic Languages.  
 Kh. = Khōwār.  
 Kh. Gr. = *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khōwār Language*. By D. J. T. O'Brien. Lahore, 1895.  
 KI. = Kramadīśvara.  
 Kl. = Kalāśā.

- Kl. = Kulūi = WPh. (Kl.).  
 Km. = Kumaunī = CPh. (Km.).  
 Kn. = Kanaujī = H. (Kn.).  
 Kōn. = Kōnkañi = M. (Kōn.).  
 Kōn. Dicy. = M. (Kōn.) Dicy.  
 Kōn. Gr. = M. (Kōn.) Gr.  
 Kš. = Kāšmīrī.  
 Kš. Dicy. = *A Dictionary of the Kāšmīrī Language*. By Sir George A. Grierson. Published by ASB., Part I, 1916 ; Part II, 1924 ; Part III (to letter T), 1929.  
 Kš. Dicy. El. = *A Vocabulary of the Kāšmīrī Language*. By William Jackson Elmslie. London, 1872.  
 Kš. Gr. = *Essays on Kāšmīrī Grammar*. By G. A. Grierson. London and Calcutta, 1899.  
 Kš. Man. = *A Manual of the Kāšmīrī Language, comprising Grammar, Phrase-Book, and Vocabulary*. By G. A. Grierson. Two volumes. London, 1911.  
 Kth. = Kiūthali = WPh. (Kth.).  
 L. = Lahndā.  
 L. Dicy. = *Dictionary of the Jatki or Western Panjābi Language*. By A. Jukes. Lahore and London, 1900.  
 L. Gr. = *Grammar and Dictionary of Western Panjābi, as spoken in the Shahpur District*. By J. Wilson. Lahore, 1899.  
 L. (Ml.) = Mūltānī.  
 L. (Ml.) Gr. = *Glossary of the Multani Language, or (South-Western Panjabi)*. By E. O'Brien. Revised by J. Wilson and Hari Kishen Kaul. Lahore, 1903. This includes a full grammar as well as the vocabulary.  
 L. (Pth.) = Pōthwārī.  
 Leit. Dard. = *The Languages and Races of Dardistan*. By G. W. Leitner. Lahore, 1877.  
 Leit. Hunz. = *The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook. Part I*. By G. W. v. Leitner. Calcutta, 1889.  
 lg. fm. = long form.  
 LI. = *The Languages of India* : being a Reprint of the Chapter on Languages in the Report on the Census of India for 1901. By G. A. Grierson. Calcutta, 1902.  
 LIA. = Lassen. *Indische Alterthumskunde*, second edition, Leipzig, 1858-74.  
 loc. = locative.  
 LSI. = *Linguistic Survey of India*. By G. A. Grierson and Sten Konow. Published by the Government of India. Calcutta, 1903.  
 M. = Marāṭhī.  
 M. Dicy. = *A Dictionary, Marāṭhī and English*. Compiled by J. T. Molesworth, assisted by George and Thomas Candy. Second edition. Bombay, 1857.  
 M. Gr. = *A Comprehensive Marathi Grammar*. By Ramachandra Bhikaji Joshi. Third or English Edition, Poona, 1900.  
 M. (Kōn.) = Kōnkañi.  
 M. (Kōn.) Dicy. = *A Konkani-English Dictionary*. By A. F. X. Maffei. Mangalore, 1883.  
 M. (Kōn.) Gr. = *A Konkani Grammar*. By A. F. X. Maffei. Mangalore, 1882.  
 M. Ap. = Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa.  
 MASB. = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
 masc. = masculine.  
 MBh. = Mahābhārata.  
 Mg. = Magahī = B. (Mg.).  
 Mg. Ap. = Māgadha Apabhraṃśa.  
 Mg. Pr. = Māgadhi Prakrit = Pr. (Mg.).  
 MIAV. = Midland Indo-Aryan Vernacular (H.).  
 Mk. = *Prākṛtasarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍēya Kavīndra. Edited and published by S. P. V. Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru, Vizagapatam, 1912.  
 Ml. = Mūltānī = L. (Ml.).  
 Ml. Gr. = L. (Ml.) Gr.  
 Mlv. = Mālvī = R. (Mlv.).  
 M. Pr. = Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit = Pr. (M.).  
 Mrgn. Rep. = Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan. By Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo, 1926.  
 Mth. = Maithilī = B. (Mth.).  
 Mth. Dicy. = B. (Mth.) Dicy.  
 Mth. Gr. = B. (Mth.) Gr.  
 Mw. = Mārwarī = R. (Mw.).  
 Mwt. = Mēwātī = R. (Mwt.).  
 My. = Maiyā.  
 N prefixed to a language name = North.  
 N. Ap. = Nāgara Apabhraṃśa.  
 neut. = neuter.  
 nom. = nominative.

NP.=Northern Panjābī

NP. Gr.=*Pañjābī Manual and Grammar : A Guide to the Colloquial Pañjābī of the Northern Pañjāb.* By T. F. Cummings and T. Grahame Bailey. Calcutta, 1912.

NWIAV(s). = North-Western Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (L. S.).

N.W.Pr.=North-western Prakrit, in S. Konow's *Kharoshthi Inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, Part I)*.

O prefixed to a language name=Old.

O.=Oriyā.

O. Dicy.=*An Oriya Dictionary in three volumes.* By A. Sutton. Cuttack, 1841.

O. Gr.=*Oriya Grammar for English Students.* By E. C. B. Hallam. Calcutta, 1874.

obl.=general oblique case.

OuIAV(s). =Outer Indo-Aryan Vernacular(s) (L. S. M. B. A. Bg. O.).

OWR.=Old Western Rājasthānī, i.e., the parent of modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī.

OWR. Gr.=*Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī with special Reference to Apabhraṃśa and to Gujarātī and Mārwarī.* By L. P. Tessitori. Reprinted from the "Indian Antiquary." Bombay, 1916. See IA, XLIII, 21 ; XLIV, 3 ; XLV, 6, 93.

P.=Panjābī.

P. Dicy.=*The Panjābī Dictionary prepared by Munshi Gulab Singh and Sons.* Compiled and edited by Bhai Maya Singh, and passed by Dr. H. M. Clark. Lahore, 1895.

P. Gr.=*Panjābī Grammar.* By E. P. Newton. Ludhiana, 1898. See also NP.

P. (D). =Dōgrī.

Paś=Paśai.

Ph.=Pahārī.

pl. or plur.=plural.

Poet.=Poetical.

p. p. p.=past participle passive.

pr.=pronounced.

Pr.=Prakrit.

Pr. Gr.=*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen. (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde, I. Band, 8. Heft.)* von R. Pischel. Strassburg, 1900.

Pr. (AMg.)=Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit.

Pr. (CPś.)=Cūlikāpaśācika Prakrit.

Pr. (M.).=Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit.

Pr. (Mg.)=Māgadhī Prakrit.

Pr. (Pś.)=Paśācī Prakrit.

Pr. (Śr.)=Śaurasēnī Prakrit.

Prs.=Persian.

Pś. L.=*The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India.* By G. A. Grierson. Asiatic Society Monographs, volume VIII. London, 1906.

Pś. Pr.=Paśācī Prakrit=Pr. (Pś.).

Pth.=Pōthwārī=L. (Pth.).

R.=Rājasthānī. For a Grammar, see H. Gr. and LSI. IX, ii. There is no dictionary. Cf., however, the following.

R. Sp.=*Specimens of the Dialects spoken in the State of Jeypore.* By G. Macalister. Allahabad, 1898. This contains numerous grammars and a vocabulary.

R. (J.)=Jaipurī.

R. (Mlv.)=Mālvī.

R. (Mw.)=Mārwarī.

R. (Mwt.)=Mēwātī.

red. fm.=redundant form.

RT.=*Prākṛta-Kalpataru* of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa). Śākhā I, viii in MASB, VIII (1924), 159 ff.; III, ii, iii, in IA, LI (1922), 13 ff.; LII (1923), 1 ff., 187 ff.; II, i-iii, LVI (1927), and LVII (1928) (in Supplements); III, xv, in Ashutosh Mukherji Jubilee Volume, III, 119 ff.

S prefixed to a language name=South.

S.=Sindhī.

S. Cer.=*Cerebralization in Sindhī.* By R. L. Turner. JRAS, 1924, 555 ff.

S. Dicy.=*A Sindhī-English Dictionary.* Compiled by G. Shirt, Udham Thavurdas, and S. F. Mirza. Karāchī, 1879.

S. Dicy. St.=*A Dictionary English and Sindhī.* By George Stack. Bombay, 1849.

S. Gr.=*Grammar of the Sindhī Language.* By Ernest Trumpp. London, 1872.

S. Gr. St.=*A Grammar of the Sindhī Language.* By George Stack. Bombay, 1849.

S. Rec.=*The Sindhī Recursives.* By R. L. Turner. In BSOS., III, 301 ff.

Š.=Šinā.

Š. Gr.=*Grammar of the Shina (Šinā) Language.* By T. Grahame Bailey, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

S. Ph. = *Notes on the Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina*. By D. L. R. Lorimer. In JRAS, 1924, pp. 1 ff. and 177 ff.

sg. or sing. || Singular.

Sgh. = Singhalese.

Sgh. Gr. = *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*. By Wilhelm Geiger (GIAP, I, 10).

Shb. = Shābāzgarhī.

Sh. fm. = short form.

SIAY. = Southern Indo-Aryan Vernacular (M.)

Skr. = Sanskrit.

Śr. Ap. = Śaurasēna Apabhraṃśa.

Śr. Pr. = Śaurasēni Prakrit = Pr. (Śr.).

str. fm. = strong form.

sTs. = semi-Tatsama.

T. = R. L. Turner. See G. Ph.

Tbh. = tadbhava.

Tir. = Tirāhī.

Trw. = Tōrwālī.

Trw. Gr. = *Tōrwālī, an account of a Dardic Language of the Swāt Kōhistān*. By Sir George A. Grierson. Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.

Ts. = tatsama.

Up. Ap. = Upanāgarā Apabhraṃśa.

V. = Veron.

V. Ap. = Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃśa.

voc. = vocative.

W prefixed to a language name = West.

Wai. = Wai-alā.

WILAV(s). = Western Intermediate Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (R. G. P.).

Wk. = *Altindische Grammatik* von Jakob Wackernagel, I Lautlehre (Göttingen, 1896). II, Einleitung zur Wortlehre. Nominal Komposition (Göttingen, 1905). When only the page is quoted, it is to be understood that the reference is to vol. I.

WPh. = Western Pahārī. There is no separate Dictionary or Grammar. Cf., however, the following.

WPh. (Cm.). = Cameālī.

WPh. Gr. = *The Languages of the Northern Himalayas, being Studies in the Grammar of Twenty-six Himalayan Dialects*. By T. Grahame Bailey. Asiatic Society's Monographs, vol. XII. London, 1908. This contains grammatical sketches of several WPh. dialects.

WPh. (Jn.) = Jaunsārī.

WPh. (Kl.) = Kulūī.

WPh. (Kth.) = Kiṭṭhālī.

WZKM. = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

ZVS. = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen*.

### I. General View of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

1. The languages spoken at the present day in British India are usually divided into three main groups, viz. (1) Aryan languages, (2) Dravidian languages, and (3) others. The last group is mainly composed of Mundā and Tibeto-Burman forms of speech, whose present habitats are, respectively, the central hill country of Hindōstān and the mountains that form the northern and the north-eastern boundaries of India proper. The Dravidian languages are principally spoken in the Deccan, although sporadic dialects of this group are found even so far north as the Ganges valley and in Balūcistān. The Aryan languages cover, roughly speaking, the whole of the northern plain of India, penetrating, in the case of the Pahārī dialects, into the lower ranges of the Himālaya. Closely related to them is another group of languages found in the wild mountainous country lying to the south of the Hindūkuš. These are called in this work the 'Dardic' or 'Modern Piśāca' languages. The Indo-Aryan languages have followed the course of the Ganges down to its mouth, and have conquered the fertile plains on both sides of the Brahmaputra as far as Sadiyā, near which place that river enters the Assam valley on its journey from Tibet. The entire course of the Indus, from the frontier of India proper to the sea, recognizes their sway, and on the east and the west coasts of the Peninsula they have pushed far to the south, displacing Dravidian languages,—on the East, Kandh, Gōṇḍ, and Telugu, and, on the West, Kanarese.

2. Throughout the present work I shall call these Aryan languages the 'Indo-Aryan Vernaculars' (IAV.), it being understood that by this term is meant the Tertiary Prakrits or Vernaculars of the present day, and not the ancient Aryan Vernaculars of India, such as the Primary Prakrits (including Vedic Sanskrit), or the Secondary Prakrits, such as Pāli or Prakrit  $\kappa\alpha\tau'$  ἐξοχόν.<sup>1</sup> They have been called 'Gaudian,'<sup>2</sup> a name derived from the Gauda or Gaur tribes of northern Hindōstān, and having no connexion with the other Gauda of Bengal. This word Gauda is often opposed in Sanskrit writings to Dravida, or south India, and hence there is a certain appropriateness in calling the great rival of the Dravidian tongues by the name of 'Gaudian'; but the term has not found general acceptance, and is liable to misconstruction owing to the twofold meaning of the word 'Gauda.' It has therefore been considered advisable to adopt, instead of this very convenient word, the somewhat unwieldy periphrasis of 'Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The terms 'Primary,' 'Secondary,' and 'Tertiary' Prakrits are explained later on.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., by Hoernle in his *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*.

<sup>3</sup> The term Indo-Aryan distinguishes those Aryans who settled in India from those Aryans who settled in Persia and elsewhere, just as 'Aryo-Indian' signifies those inhabitants of India who are Aryans, as distinguished from other Indian races, Dravidians, Muṇḍās, and so on. 'Gaudian,' meaning non-Dravidian, therefore connotes the same idea as 'Aryo-Indian.' These two words refer to the people and their language from the point of view of India, while 'Indo-Aryan' looks at them from the wider aspect of European ethnology and philology. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed. (1910), s.v. *Indo-European Languages*.

3. According to the Census of 1921, the population of India, excluding Burma, may be taken as about 305 millions. Of these, about 230 millions speak Indo-Aryan vernaculars, 64 millions Dravidian, and the rest other languages. According to the Linguistic Survey of India, the total number of speakers of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars is about 226 millions. The difference is mainly due to the fact that the Survey is based on the figures of earlier censuses. Further, and more important, differences in the figures given for the separate languages are explained by differences in classification, and in such cases it may be taken that the Survey figures are the more correct, although, necessarily, not absolutely accurate for 1921.

These IAVs. fall, as we shall see, into three main divisions, the grouping of which is based on linguistic considerations, and also coincides with the geographical distribution of the various languages. These divisions are :—

		Number of Speakers.	
		According to Census of 1921.	According to Linguistic Survey.
A. The Midland Language—			
1. Hindī (H.) <sup>1</sup>	.. .. .	41,210,916	38,013,928
B. Intermediate Languages—			
(a) More nearly related to the Midland Language :			
2. Panjābī (P.)	.. .. .	16,233,596	12,762,639
3. Rājasthānī <sup>2</sup> (R.)	.. .. .	12,893,834	17,551,326
4. Gujarātī <sup>3</sup> (G.)	.. .. .	11,407,609	13,336,336
5. Eastern Pahārī, Khas Kurā, or Naipālī <sup>4</sup> (EPh.)		279,715	143,721
6. Central Pahārī <sup>5</sup> (CPh.)	.. .. .	3,853	1,107,612
7. Western Pahārī (WPh.)	.. .. .	1,633,915	853,468

(b) More nearly related to the Outer Languages—							
8.	Eastern Hindī (EH.)	..	..	..	..	22,567,882	24,511,647
C. Outer Languages—							
(a) North-Western Group:							
9.	Lahndā (L.)	..	..	..	..	5,652,264	7,092,781
10.	Sindhī (S.)	..	..	..	..	3,371,708	3,069,470
(b) Southern Language:							
11.	Marāṭhī (M.)	..	..	..	..	18,797,831	18,011,948
(c) Eastern Group:							
12.	Bihārī (B.)	..	..	..	..	34,342,430	37,180,782
13.	Oṛiyā (O.)	..	..	..	..	10,143,165	9,042,525
14.	Bengali (Bg.)	..	..	..	..	49,294,099	41,933,284
15.	Assamese (A.)	..	..	..	..	1,727,328	1,447,552
Total						229,560,145	226,059,019

In the above, Census figures for Hindī, Eastern Hindī, and Bihārī are not those given in the published Census Report. The latter are certainly wrong, and have been adjusted so as to agree more nearly with the actual facts.

<sup>1</sup> The letter after each name indicates the conventional sign by which it is referred to in these pages.

<sup>2</sup> Including the mixed Khāndēśī dialect.

<sup>3</sup> Including the mixed Bhīl dialects.

<sup>4</sup> Nearly all the speakers of this language inhabit Nēpāl, a country which was not subject to the Census of 1911, and to which the Linguistic Survey did not extend. The figures here given refer only to temporary residents in India.

<sup>5</sup> In the Census, nearly all the speakers of Central Pahārī were classed as speaking Hindī.

4. These fifteen languages form the subject of the present work. In addition we shall consider the Dardic (Drd.) or Modern Piśāca languages. Of these, only Kāśmīrī came fully under the operations of the Census of 1921, the number of speakers recorded being 1,268,854. According to the more accurate results of the Linguistic Survey, these figures should be corrected to 1,195,902. The Dardic languages are the following:—

(a) Kāfir, or Western, Group. (Kf.).

1. Bašgalī (Bš.).
2. Wai-alā (Wai.).
3. Veron (V.).
4. Aškund (Aš.).
5. Pašai (Paš.).
6. Tirāhī (Tir.).
7. Gawar-bati (Gwr.).
8. Kalāšā (Kl.).

(b) 9. Khōwār (Kh.).

(c) Dard, or Eastern, Group. (Drd. Gr.).

10. Šinā (Š.).
11. Kāśmīrī (Kš.).
12. Maiyā (My.).
13. Gārwi (Grw.).
14. Tōrwālī (Trw.).

5. Returning to the IAVs. proper, it can be gathered from the names of the various groups that the Midland language occupies the centre of the northern Indian plain, corresponding to the ancient *Madhyadēśa*, while the Outer languages lie round it in a band on the West, South, and East. Between this Outer band and the Midland language lie the intermediate languages, representing the latter shading off into the former. There is no hard and fast geographical frontier between each language, for, unless separated by some physical obstacle, such as a wide river or a range of mountains, languages of the same family are not separated by boundary-pillars, but insensibly merge into each other. For instance, P. is classed as an Intermediate language, and the adjoining L. as an Outer language, and yet it is impossible to say where P. ends and L. begins. We shall now proceed to consider these languages in detail.

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- Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. V, Pt. 1, July 1930.  
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXI, No. 2, Oct. 1930.  
A Study of the Mahavastu (Supplement), by Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.  
The Maha-Bodhi, vol. XXXVIII, No. 12, Dec. 1930.  
The Calcutta Review, vol. 37, Nos. 2 & 3, Nov.-Dec. 1930.  
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 37, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., F.B.A.  
Selections from the Peshwa Daftar. Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat, 1747-1761. Government Central Press, Bombay.  
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, vol. XII, Part I.  
Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. III, No. 1, March 1930.  
Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Cochin State, by P. Anujan Achan.

#### PAPERS ON HAND:—

- A Note on the Ten Plays of Bhasa published by MM. T. Ganapati Sastri, by R. V. Jahagirdar, M.A.  
Notes on Hobson-Jobson, by Professor S. H. Hodiwala, M.A.  
Remarks on the Nicobar Islanders and their country, by Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt., C.B.  
Birth and Growth of Caste in the Andaman Islands, by Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt., C.B.  
Bengal and the City of Bangala (Contributions to an old controversy), by Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.  
Capelan (The Ruby Mines District of Burma), by Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.  
Nature Study in the Sanskrit Drama Sakuntala, by Miss Lily Dexter Greene, Ph.D.  
The staging of the Viddhasalabhanjika, by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A.  
Life of Rishi Pir Pandit Padshah, a great hermit of Kashmir, by Pandit Anand Koul, Kashmir.  
On certain specimens of Former Currency in Burma, by Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.  
Possible Origin of the Caste System in India, by Biren Bonnerjea, D.Litt. (Paris).  
A Buddhist Parallel to the Avimarakas story, by A. Venkatasubbiah, M.A.  
On the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (Part I, chaps. I-III.), by Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E. (Supplement.)  
Lalla-Vakyani, or the Wise Sayings of Lal Ded, by Pandit Anand-Koul, Srinagar, Kashmir.  
Prayascitta or Hindu Ideas on the Expiation of Sin, by Biren Bonnerjea, D.Litt. (Paris).  
Place Names by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B.A.  
A stone relief from a Kalinga Railing, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch.  
Life of Rupa Bhawani, a great Hermitess of Kashmir, by Pandit Anand Koul, Srinagar, Kashmir.  
The Interrogative bases of Dravidian, by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A.  
Is S. Thome in Civitate Iothabis? by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.  
St. Thomas in Southern India, by P. J. Thomas, M.A.  
The Date of the Compilation of Kautilya's Arthashastra (484-510 A.D.), by Pran Nath, D.Sc., Ph.D.

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